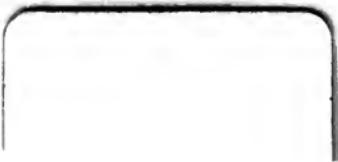


An Old English grammar

Eduard Sievers,
Eduard Sievers
(i.e. Georg ...

KD 62951



Professor Charles R. Lammie
From his faithful
Albert P. Cook

Berkeley.

June 4, 1885.

AN

OLD ENGLISH GRAMMAR

BY

EDUARD SIEVERS, PH.D.,

PROFESSOR OF GERMANIC PHILOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF TÜBINGEN.

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY

ALBERT S. COOK, PH.D. (JENA),

PROFESSOR OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

ABOUT a year ago the publisher of the “Series of Brief Grammars of the Germanic Dialects” invited me to prepare the Old English member of the series. At that time the pressure of other duties did not justify me in promising him more than a revision of an earlier set of lectures on Old English grammar, adapted to conform to the general plan. The brief sketch which follows, therefore, makes no pretension to be anything more than such a revision, although much has been added in the process of re-copying which was foreign to the original draft.

Hitherto, Old English grammars have virtually been founded upon the language of the poetical texts. This is to be deplored, especially when we consider that the manuscripts in which they are contained are uniformly late; that the texts themselves were composed at an earlier period, and frequently in another dialect; and that in our present versions ancient forms are almost hopelessly jumbled with more modern ones, and specimens of the most widely separated dialects are occasionally united in the same composition.

In the present treatise, on the other hand, the language of the older prose writings has, to a greater extent than heretofore, been chosen as the basis of grammatical investigation, since it is safe to assume that they represent in some measure a single dialect. Besides the characterization of the West Saxon, which is everywhere made the most prominent, an attempt has also been made to give, though in the most concise terms, the chief variations of the other dialects. Moreover, the method followed has been the historical; that

is, I have endeavored to discriminate between early and late forms in a somewhat more critical manner than has been customary, at least in Germany. In this respect, particularly, my work will need to be supplemented and corrected. Just here, however, I desire to anticipate one objection which may be brought against my statements. When a sound or a form is said to be "earlier" or "later," these terms are to be understood as designating the relative age of two corresponding sounds or forms, or the great preponderance of the one or the other in documents of an earlier or later date, and must not be construed as denying the isolated occurrence of "later" forms in earlier texts, or the reverse. In the present state of our knowledge of Old English, it is not possible to proceed with any nearer approach to accuracy; as regards the exact chronology of Old English sounds and forms, almost everything is yet to be done.

The citations are not usually intended to be exhaustive, since this was precluded by the very plan of the series. Many details, which appear to be confined exclusively to the language of poetry, have been intentionally omitted, because I believed that the beginner should first acquaint himself with the normal or typical forms of the language; it should be observed, however, that what is lacking in the paragraphs treating of West Saxon will frequently be found under the head of the other dialects. On the other hand, I regret that my account of heterogeneous and heteroclitic nouns is not more full and explicit.

In the phonology, and especially in that of the vowels, it was impossible to avoid touching upon the theories of comparative philology. Here, again, the utmost attainable brevity has been aimed at. In general, an elementary knowledge of Gothic has been presupposed; Old High German and Old Saxon forms have been introduced only in exceptional instances, and then only when they were required to elucidate some difficulty.

The first effectual stimulus to a historical study of Old English, and the first outlines of Old English dialectology, we owe to Henry Sweet. In the introduction to his edition of the *Cura Pastoralis* the peculiarities of Early West Saxon were pointed out for the first time; and his paper entitled “Dialects and Prehistoric Forms of English” (*Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1875–76, p. 453 ff.) first directed attention to the earliest documents, and briefly characterized the principal dialects. Of prime importance are likewise his investigations into the quantity of Old English vowels (120. note); these were intended to prepare the way for a new edition of his *History of English Sounds*, London, 1874,—a work which leans rather to a theoretical treatment of Old English phonology. Besides, the grammatical introduction to Sweet's *Anglo-Saxon Reader* (now in its third edition, Oxford, 1881, though I have been able to consult only the second) contains many valuable and, what is deserving of special recognition in this department of research, trustworthy particulars.

The history of certain parts of the Old English vowel-system has been, for the first time, illustrated in the researches of H. Paul into the Germanic vowel-system (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache und Literatur* IV. 315 ff., and VI. 1 ff.). To these should be added the articles by Ten Brink (*Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum*, XIX. 211 ff., *Anglia*, I. 512 ff.), and by J. Zupitza (*Anzeiger für Deutsches Alterthum*, II. 1 ff.). Of monographs on special points but few have been published. Zupitza has fully discussed the language of the important Kentish Glosses (*Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum*, XIX. 1 ff.); while, besides Sweet, P. J. Cosijn has shed light upon Early West Saxon by his admirable studies of the *Cura Pastoralis* and the *Old English Chronicle* (*Taalkundige Bijdragen*, Haarlem, 1877 ff., II. 115 ff., 240 ff.), as well as by his *Kurzgefasste Altwest-sächsische Grammatik* (I. Theil, *Die Vocale der Stammsilben*,

Leiden, 1881). The northern dialects, moreover, which had been almost overlooked since the labors of K. W. Bouterwek (Introduction to his edition of the Four Gospels in the Old Northumbrian Language, Gütersloh, 1857; the edition is totally useless so far as the text is concerned) and of M. Heyne (Kurze Grammatik der Altgermanischen Dialekte), have recently been made the objects of study. The language of the Psalter (Appendix, p. 222) has been very critically elucidated by R. Zeuner (Die Sprache des Kentischen Psalters, Halle, 1881), and compared with that of the oldest Kentish texts; the author, relying upon an earlier opinion of Sweet's, regarded the Psalter as Kentish, but this view is shown to be untenable by his own statements in the treatise referred to. Finally, a similar comprehensive investigation of the Northumbrian documents is soon to be expected from Professor Albert S. Cook.

To what extent I am indebted to these and other predecessors for opinions or material can be easily determined by comparison. To assure every one his due is rendered impossible by the compass and plan of this sketch.

To my friend W. Braune I owe grateful acknowledgments for his aid in the correction of proof-sheets, and for many valuable suggestions with regard to the text itself.

E. SIEVERS.

JENA, February 1, 1882.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

WHILE Sievers' *Angelsächsische Grammatik* was passing through the press, I was a student of philology at the University of Jena. The author had obligingly allowed me to read the whole manuscript before it was placed in the printer's hands, and now favored me with copies of the proof-sheets as fast as they were issued. Under these circumstances it was natural that, when the project of an English version was mooted, I should offer myself as the translator. I did so offer myself, and received from my honored teacher his cordial permission to make such use of his work as I might deem proper; in other words, he left it to my option to expand, curtail, or otherwise modify the original in any way that commended itself to my judgment. The permission thus generously accorded, it has been my aim not to abuse.

The original plan of the grammar has been left intact. Upon first view it seemed labyrinthine, and capable of much simplification; but I was soon persuaded, upon nearer examination, that the complexity of design was owing to the multiplicity of phenomena presented by the three Old English dialects, and still further increased by the endeavor to discriminate between the earlier and later stages of West Saxon. The author might have made his Grammar easier had he chosen to ignore facts which clamored for explanation, instead of seeking to harmonize and account for them; if the work is more difficult, it is also more scientific and comprehensive. Moreover, much of the apparent complexity vanishes in actual use. The dialectal variations may be entirely disregarded; examples of Late West Saxon are

chiefly confined to the notes ; and the system of cross-references will not only facilitate the settlement of a doubtful point, but, if perseveringly utilized, will enable the student readily to comprehend the relations between the different parts of the whole organism — an organism which is not the figment of scholastic invention, but essentially natural and rational.

With the exception of one or two unimportant redistributions of matter, the modifications that have been made are confined to excisions, additions, changes in terminology, and changes in accent. The excisions are of such details as were criticised in my review of the Grammar in the American Journal of Philology, VI. 228, and need not be dwelt upon in this place.

Important supplementary matter has been furnished by articles in various philological journals. Among these may be mentioned the papers contained in *Englische Studien*, VI. 149 ff., 290 ff., and in *Anglia*, VI. 171 ff. ; the valuable contributions of F. Kluge to Kuhn's *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung*, XXVI. 68 ff., the *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, VIII. 506 ff., and to *Anglia, Anzeiger* zu Band V. 81 ff. ; but especially the rich collections from Sievers' own hand (*Beiträge*, IX. 197–300). So much of this store as promised to render the Grammar more serviceable has been incorporated into its pages, though frequently with such alterations of form as to become practically unrecognizable, except upon careful scrutiny. The First Half of Cosijn's *Altwestsächsische Grammatik* unfortunately came to hand too late to be of any service. Besides the additions made to the body of the work, the index has been amplified to include all the new words under the head of Inflection.

The term "Old English" has been substituted throughout for "Anglo-Saxon." This change will hardly call for an extended justification. Whatever reasons may be advanced

for the retention of the name "Anglo-Saxon," the arguments in favor of "Old English" are manifestly, and, to my mind, overwhelmingly superior. The latter rest upon the practically invariable usage of our English forefathers, and upon the need of marking, by a simple as well as intelligible nomenclature, the succession of periods or stages in the development of our language. At the very beginning of the Preface to the English Chronicle, we are told that "in this island there are five languages: English (Englisc), British, Scotch, Pictish, and Latin." Alfred, in his circular letter prefixed to the Pastoral Care, advises that all freemen's sons be set to learning "until such time as they can interpret English (Englisc) writing well," and states that he has undertaken to "render into English" the book known in Latin as "Pastoralis." A century later, Ælfric, speaking of his grammar, says: "I, Ælfric, have attempted to translate this little book into English speech"; further on, when treating of letters, he states that "littera is stæf in English" (p. 4 of Zupitza's edition); and again, that "y is very common in English writings." Again, in the Old English version of the Gospels, the text of Matthew 27:46, interpreting the Aramaic, reads, "that is in English (Englisc), My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" And while "English" is thus repeatedly employed to denote the language, "Anglo-Saxon" never once occurs in this sense. But, if the application of the term "English" to the speech of our ancestors is warranted by their own practice, the phrase "Old English" is at least equally well supported by convenience, analogy, and sound philological principles. No one scruples to say "Old Saxon," "Old Norse," or "Old French," while the sequence of Old High German, Middle High German, and Modern or New High German (Brandt's German Grammar, § 485) is too well established to be overthrown. The designation of the successive epochs in the history of English by the same terms, *Old*, *Middle*, and *Modern*, which have been

so long and consistently applied to the sister tongue, can therefore hardly be regarded as constituting a serious innovation. These adjectives carry their meaning on their face, and do not require, for ordinary purposes, an interpretation at the hands of the professional philologist; yet, while sufficiently flexible for popular use in their current acceptations, they admit of strict scholarly definition, and are thus open to no valid objection on either score.

With regard to accent, I have followed Sweet in the third edition of his Reader; that is, I have uniformly employed the acute, and placed it over the former of the two elements in a long diphthong, thus differing from Sievers, who writes simple long vowels with the circumflex, and places the acute over the second element of a long diphthong. A uniform adherence to one or the other accent is dictated by considerations of simplicity and economy, while Sievers himself distinctly affirms that the stress in every diphthong falls upon the first of the two components, though he ignores the theory in his notation.

In conformity with Sweet's practice, I have designated the **o**, standing for **a** before nasals, by **ø**, and the umlaut-**e** by **ɛ**, original **e** being left unmarked. The **ȝ** of the German edition has been replaced by **g**, since it is not easy to discern any advantage in the retention of the manuscript form. In the index, **ð**, whether initial or medial, has been made to follow **t**, instead of being inserted, when medial, after **d**.

The monograph on Northumbrian, announced in Sievers' preface, has not yet been completed. Though its claims upon my time and attention have been temporarily superseded by others, I have good hope that any moderate expectations founded upon Professor Sievers' generous notice need not much longer be disappointed.

The typographical form of this volume is due to the taste of Messrs. J. S. Cushing & Co., of Boston. Their labors, arduous at best, have been still further heightened by three

thousand miles of distance ; the patience and good judgment displayed under these conditions is, therefore, deserving of hearty praise.

In conclusion, it only remains to express the hope that what is best in this treatise may be ascribed to Professor Sievers, and that what is faulty in execution may be set down to the unwisdom of its editor.

ALBERT S. COOK.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
BERKELEY, CAL., March 19, 1885.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

<u>Beitr.</u>	<u>Paul und Braune's Beiträge (see Preface).</u>
<u>Cod. Dipl.</u>	<u>Codex Diplomaticus (see Appendix, p. 222).</u>
<u>Cura Past.</u>	<u>Cura Pastoralis (see Appendix, p. 223).</u>
<u>Ep.</u>	<u>Epinal Glossary (see Appendix, p. 222).</u>
<u>EWS.</u>	<u>Early West Saxon.</u>
<u>Germ.</u>	<u>Germanic.</u>
<u>Goth.</u>	<u>Gothic.</u>
<u>Kent.</u>	<u>Kentish.</u>
<u>K. Gl., Kent. Gl.</u>	<u>Kentish Glosses (see Appendix, p. 222).</u>
<u>LOE.</u>	<u>Late Old English.</u>
<u>LWS.</u>	<u>Late West Saxon.</u>
<u>OE.</u>	<u>Old English (= Anglo Saxon).</u>
<u>OHG.</u>	<u>Old High German.</u>
<u>ON.</u>	<u>Old Norse (= Icelandic).</u>
<u>OS.</u>	<u>Old Saxon.</u>
<u>Merc.</u>	<u>Mercian.</u>
<u>North.</u>	<u>Northumbrian.</u>
<u>Ps.</u>	<u>Psalter (Vespasian A. 1, see App., p. 223).</u>
<u>R., Rushw.</u>	<u>Rushworth Gloss (see Appendix, p. 222).</u>
<u>Rit.</u>	<u>Durham Ritual (see Appendix, p. 222).</u>

* indicates a word or form not actually found, but of which the existence is inferred.

INTRODUCTION.

1. By Old English we mean the language of the Germanic inhabitants of England, from their earliest settlement in that country till about the middle or end of the twelfth century. From this time on the language differs from that of the older period by the gradual decay of inflectional forms, and the introduction of French elements.

NOTE. The OE. writers uniformly call their own language *Englisc*; the Latin authors employ, for the most part, the term *lingua saxonica*. The names *Ongulseaxan*, Lat. *Anglosaxones*, etc., were originally employed only in a political sense; cf. the proposed nomenclature for the various periods of English and the able defence of the term *Old English* in Sweet's History of English Sounds, pp. 157-161.

Old English forms a branch of the so-called West Germanic, *i.e.*, of the unitary language from which, in later times, proceeded Old English, Frisian, Old Saxon, Frankish, and Upper German. It is most nearly related to Frisian, but is likewise closely akin to Old Saxon.

2. In the earliest OE. manuscripts the existence of various dialects is plainly discernible. The chief of these are the Northumbrian, in the north; the Midland, or Mercian, in the interior; the West Saxon, in the west and south; and the Kentish, in the south-east.

NOTE. Northumbrian and Mercian together form the Anglian group. The main representative of the Saxon dialects is West Saxon, and of the Jutie, Kentish. For an account of the most important monuments of the OE. language, see Appendix, p. 222.

3. The chief characteristics of WS. are the representation of Germ. ē by æ (57 ff.; 150. 1); the accurate discrimination of ea and eo (150. 3); the early loss of the sound œ (27); and the displacement of the ending -u, -o, of the pres. ind. 1st sing., by -e (356).

In EWS. the umlaut of ea, eo is ie, passing later into i, y (41; 150. 2). Northumbrian has a tendency to drop final n (186), and to convert we into wœ, and weo into wo (156). The inflections were unsettled at an early period; especially noticeable is the frequent formation of the pres. ind. 3d sing. and of the whole plur. in -s instead of ð (358). The oldest criterion of Kentish is the vocalization of g into i (214. 2); more recent is the substitution of e for y (154).

Alphabet and Pronunciation.

4. The OE. alphabet is the Latin alphabet as modified by English scribes. The letters f, g, r, and s are most unlike the usual forms. Besides the Latin letters, there were ð, þ, and a character for w, the two latter being borrowed from the Runic alphabet.

English editions of OE. texts have often been printed with type made in imitation of the manuscript characters. At present, however, the Roman letters are universally preferred, with the addition of the characters ð and þ. Occasionally, too, the OE. s is employed to represent g.

NOTE 1. Abbreviations are not very common in Old English manuscripts. They are usually denoted by ~ or ˘. ~ over vowels signifies m, e.g. fr̄ō = frōm; over consonants er, as in aeft, fæstn, of = aeft, fæstern, ofer. On the other hand, ˘ denotes or, as in ſ, ſe, beſan, etc. = for, fore, beſorān; but ðoñ, hwoñ stand for ðonne, hwonne.

A þ with crossed vertical signifies þæt. The following have been borrowed from Latin: ȝ for qnd, and, and; and a crossed I for oððe, or.

NOTE 2. Before the introduction of the Latin alphabet, the English already possessed Runic letters. The alphabet is an extension of the old German Runic alphabet of twenty-four letters (L. F. A. Wimmer, Runeskriftens oprindelse og udvikling i Norden, Copenhagen, 1874). The few Runic remains may be found in G. Stephens, The Old Northern Runic Monuments, Copenhagen, 1866, I. 361 ff. The most important of these are the inscriptions on the Ruthwell Cross in Northumberland, Bewcastle Cross in Cumberland, and the Clermont casket.

5. The data for determining the pronunciation of these letters is furnished by the traditional pronunciation of Latin as it obtained in England from about the seventh century; besides, it is not improbable that Celtic influences must be taken into account. In doubtful cases we are obliged to resort to variation in the orthography, and especially to phonetic changes and grammatical phenomena in Old English itself, as a means of determining the pronunciation. Moreover, the latter cannot have been the same at all times, and in all localities.

In the following chapters on phonology the more precise pronunciation of the individual letters will be indicated, whenever this can be done with any approach to certainty.

PHONOLOGY.

PART I.—THE VOWELS.

In General.

6. The Old English vowels are denoted by the six simple characters **a**, **e**, **i**, **o**, **u**, **y**, the ligature **æ**, and the digraphs **œ**, **ea** (**ia**), **eo** (**io**), and **ie** (seldom **ei**), North. **ai** (155. 3), and in the oldest WS. texts **eu**, **iu** (64; 159. 4), the latter, with the exception of **oe** and **ai**, having the value of diphthongs.

NOTE 1. The MSS. often write **æ** as **ae**, or even as **ę**; so, too, the printed **œ** is always represented by **oe**. The distinctions in both cases are merely graphical, and have nothing to do with the pronunciation.

NOTE 2. Old English has no diphthongs, except those already mentioned. Every other vowel combination (including in most cases **ei**) must be analyzed into its two component vowels: **aidlian** = **ā-fdlian**, **aurnen** = **ā-urnen**, **beirnan** = **be-irnan**, **geywed** = **ge-ýwed**, **geunnan** = **ge-unnan**, etc.; **iu** is generally **ju** (74; 157).

7. With respect to the position of the articulating organs, **a**, **o**, **u** are guttural vowels, while **æ**, **e**, **i**, **œ**, **y** are palatals. The diphthongs uniformly begin with a palatal sound.

Quantity.

8 All these vowels, together with the diphthongs, have both short and long quantity. Length is sometimes indicated, especially in the more ancient manuscripts, and as a rule in monosyllables, by gemination

of the simple vowel sign (*yy* probably never being found), — **aa**, **breer**, **min**, **doom**, **huus**. The ligatures and diphthongs, on the other hand, are never geminated. At a later period, length is indicated by an acute accent over the vowel sign or combination, — **á**, **brér**, **mín**, **dóm**, **hús**, **mýs**, **sáe**, **œðel** or **oéðel**, **éac** or **eáe**, **tréowe** or **treówe**, etc., — though at best it is only employed sporadically, and is subject to no fixed rule.

NOTE. English editors and grammarians retain the acute accent as a sign of length; in Germany the circumflex is generally used over simple vowel signs, — **â**, **brêr**, **mîn**, **dôm**, **hûs**, **mÿs**, etc. Short and long **æ** and **œ** were formerly discriminated as **ã** and **æ**, **ö** and **œ**; these are now written **æ** and **â**, **œ** and **â**, as in the case of the simple vowel signs. The lack of uniformity is most conspicuous in the diphthongs, English scholars formerly denoting the long diphthongs by an acute accent over the second element, **eá**, **eó**, **ié**, — e.g., **beám**, **beón**, **hiéran**, in contradistinction to **wearn**, **weorpan**, **wierpð**. This was likewise the practice of Grimm and his successors. Latterly, there has been an attempt to introduce the circumflex in this place also, and to write either **êa**, **êo**, **fe**, or **eâ**, **eð**, **ië**. Neither is to be recommended, since by this means there may result confusion between diphthongs and the dissyllabic groups **ê-a** or **e-â**, etc. In the present work we shall, in conformity with the latest and best English usage, employ the acute accent only, and place it over the first, instead of the second, element of long diphthongs.

9. The originally long vowels of certain derivative and final syllables do not retain their length in OE.; every vowel of a derivative or final syllable must, therefore, be regarded as short.

NOTE. Earlier writers on the subject, in deference to the authority of Jacob Grimm, have wrongly designated the **-e** of the instr. sing. as long.

WEST SAXON VOWELS.

I. Vowels of the Accented Syllables.

I. SIMPLE VOWELS.

a.

10. Short **a** is comparatively rare. It is more or less regularly wanting before nasals (65 ff.), and it is likewise avoided in all closed syllables. Exceptions are rare: **habban, nabban** (415 ff.); **assa, ass; asse, she-ass;** **axe, asce, ashes;** **waxan, wash;** the foreign words **arc, ark;** **carcern, prison,** etc.; also **margen, morning,** etc. Even in open syllables the presence of the **a** depends in part on the influence of a following vowel (50).

NOTE. For **a** before **l** in a closed syllable, as in **ald, fallen,** see **80; 158. 2.**

11. Short **a** springs regularly from a Germ. (Goth.) **a** (49 ff.).

12. Long **ā** is frequently found, and before all consonants whether in open or closed syllables: **hátan, is called;** **gást, ghost;** **bán, bone,** dat. plur. **bánum,** etc.

13. **ā** regularly corresponds to Germ. (Goth.) **ai** (62); less frequently, when followed by **w**, to Germ. (Goth.) **é** (57).

æ.

14. Short **æ** is a vowel sound which is characteristic of Old English; its pronunciation seems to have been that of the modern English short **a** in *man, hat.* It occurs chiefly in closed syllables: **dæg, day;** **fæt, vat;**

sæt, sat. Its use in open syllables is for the most part confined to such as were closed syllables until the Old English period, as in **æcer, acre**, Goth. **akrs**, stem **akro-**; **fæger, fair**, Goth. **fagrs**, stem **fagro-**; or it may occur through the influence of forms with closed syllables, as gen. **dæges**, dat. **dæge**, due to nom. acc. **dæg**.

15. Short æ usually represents a Germ. (Goth.) a (49); hence it is wanting before nasals (65), before h terminating a syllable (82), and before r + consonant (79).

NOTE. æ is occasionally found where we should expect e (89. note).

16. Long æ seems to have had the pronunciation of the German long ä. It occurs quite frequently, and is not subject to any special restrictions.

17. The æ is of various origin. It is either

1) i-umlaut of an OE. a = Germ. (Goth.) ai, as in **lærان, Goth. laisjan, teach**, from OE. lár, *lore*; stánen, *stony*, from stán, *stone* (90); or

2) developed from Germ. (Goth.) é, as in **báron, bore**; **mæg, kinsman** (Goth. bérun, mégs) 57. II; or

3) developed from Latin á, as in **stráét, street** (57. I); or, finally,

4) lengthened from short æ, as in **sæde, said**, for **sægde** (214. 3).

18. Short e is one of the commonest sounds of Old English. As regards its pronunciation, it would seem that two different sounds are represented by the same letter; viz., an open and a close sound. It is, however, impossible to trace this distinction through all periods with perfect certainty.

19. The twofold pronunciation of the **e** is undoubtedly to be referred to its twofold origin, it being either

1) an older **e**, *i.e.* it corresponds to a Germ. (OHG., OS.) **ë**, Goth. **i**, as in **stelan**, *steal*; OHG., OS., **stēlan**, Goth. **stilan** (53); or it is

2) umlaut-**e**, and then either **i**-umlaut of **a**, as in **settan**, *set*; Goth. **satjan** (89); or **i**-umlaut of **o**, as in **exen**, from **oxa**, *ox* (93).

Which of these **e**'s had the open and which the close sound cannot be ascertained with certainty; yet it is probable that the umlaut-**e** was the more open of the two. The quality of the **e** which stands for the umlaut of **o** (= **a** before a nasal) probably differs from that of the ordinary umlaut-**e** (89). The umlaut-**e** is denoted in the present volume by **é**, while the older **e** remains unmarked.

20. The older **e** is a comparatively rare sound, since it is converted into **i** by nasals and nasal combinations (45. 2; 69), and in common with the umlaut-**e** is subject to the various breakings (77 ff.), and the **u-** and **o-umlauts** (102 ff.).

21. Long **é**, a tolerably common sound, springs from various originals. It corresponds,

1) though but seldom, to Germ. (Goth.) **é**, OHG. **ea**, **ia**, as in **hér**, *here* (58); it is

2) **i**-umlaut of **é** (94);

3) of unknown origin in the preterit of certain reduplicating verbs (395. A). In addition to these regular correspondences, **é** also occurs now and then

4) as **i**-umlaut of **ea** (97; 99), and

5) as an occasional form of **æ** (57. note 2; 150. 1).

i.

22. It is necessary to distinguish between two i-sounds in WS. The one evidently had a purer i-quality, and is therefore consistently expressed by i down to a late period and in all dialects; only in very late documents does y sometimes take its place. The second i-sound, which originally sprang from a diphthong, ie, io, was assimilated to the pronunciation of the y earlier than the other, for which reason the character representing it fluctuated much earlier between i and y (and the older ie, io, cf. 97 ff.). These statements hold good without distinction both for the short and the long vowel.

We will distinguish the two sounds as *stable* and *unstable* i.

NOTE. In a few of the more ancient manuscripts (like the Cura Pastoralis) ie does indeed occur sporadically for the stable i, i.

23. Stable short i corresponds

- 1) usually to a Germ. i, as well when the latter represents Indo-European i as when it is a Germ. development of an Indo-European e (45; 54);
- 2) it is a peculiarly OE. development of a Germ. e, as niman (69).

Unstable short i, on the other hand, is the more recent modification of an original ie, less frequently io (97 ff.; 107. 2; 109. b).

24. Stable long i is either

- 1) the representative of a Germ. i (59), or
- 2) has arisen from Germ. i by ecthlipsis, contraction, etc. (185; 214. 3, 4).

Unstable long i, on the contrary, is the modification of an older ie (97 ff.).

NOTE. For final long *f* the MSS. (though hardly the oldest ones) often have *ig*, — *big*, *hig*, *sig*, for *bi*, *by*; *hi*, *they*; *si*, *be*; so also *igge* for *ige*, as in *wiggend*, *warrior*, for *wigend*; *igge* from *ig*, *island*, for *ige*, etc. Of rare occurrence are such forms as *iggað*, *iggoðe*.

o.

25. Short o in stem syllables is of twofold origin, and accordingly represents two different sounds:

1) close o, Goth. u, as in *god*, *God*; *boda*, *messenger*, etc. (55). This o does not occur before nasals (70).

2) open o, corresponding to a Germ. (Goth.) a before nasals, and often interchanging with a, as in *monn* and *mann*, *man*; *hona* and *hana*, *cock* (65).

NOTE. The MSS. do not distinguish between the two o-sounds; Sweet follows the example of the Icelandic MSS. in denoting the open o by q,— thus, *mɔnn*, *hqna*, as contrasted with *god*, *boda*, etc. For grammatical purposes this notation is to be recommended, and we shall accordingly adopt it in the present work.

26. The sound of long ö cannot be ascertained with entire certainty; it is not improbable that the long as well as the short o had originally a double pronunciation, close and open, corresponding to its twofold origin. It is

1) the representative of Germ. (Goth.) ö, as in *göd*, *good* (60), and in that case was probably always close; or

2) the representative of Germ. e before nasals, as in *mónað*, *month* (68); or

3) lengthened from qn = Germ. (Goth.) an, as in *gós*, *goose* (185);

4) rarely the representative of the ON. au (qu), as in *öra*, etc.

The open pronunciation may be assumed as original in cases 2 and 3, but its continuance into the historic OE. period cannot be demonstrated.

œ.

27. The two sounds œ and œ̄, which are of frequent occurrence in the oldest Kentish, and more especially in the Ps. and North., are no longer to be found in the oldest documents of WS., if we except a few scattered œ's (94. note). As substitutes for the two sounds, WS. has the delabialized e, ē.

NOTE. eo is occasionally written for œ; meodren-, feo, beoc, Cod. Dipl., for mœdren-, fœ, bœc.

u.

28. A detailed proof of the twofold pronunciation of OE. u cannot be given, although probabilities favor this assumption.

29. Short u occurs without limitation before all consonants. It corresponds

- 1) to West Germ. u (56);
- 2) occasionally to West Germ. o, especially before nasals, as in **guma**, *man* (70);
- 3) it frequently arises from iō (i) and eo, in the combinations **wio** and **weo** (71; 72).

30. Long ú has a twofold origin. It is usually

- 1) the representative of Germ. ú, as in **hús**, *house* (61);
- 2) it is due to the loss of a nasal from the combination un, as in **múð**, *mouth* (185; cf. also 214. 3, note 2).

y.

31. In the older WS. documents, as well as in the other dialects, the letter y originally denoted a sound resembling the ü, or i-umlaut of u. This y we will

characterize as *stable*. Besides this stable **y**, there occurs in later WS. an unstable **y**, interchanging with **i** (22).

NOTE 1. Not till a comparatively late period does **i** sometimes take the place of stable **y**, first of all in the combination **ei** for **ey**, as in **cining**, **cinn** (or **kining**, **kinn**, 207. note 2), **seldig**, *guilty*; and before palatals, as **hige**, **bicgean**, **dihtig**, **genihtsum** (99. note).

NOTE 2. Unstable **y** is usually represented by **i** in the words **gingra**, **gind-**.

32. The etymological correspondences of the short **y** are:

- 1) Stable **y** is **i**-umlaut of **u** (95);
- 2) Unstable **y** stands for (existing or inferrible) **ie** (97 ff.) or **io** (107; 109).

33. Long **y** appears

- 1) as stable,—*a*) the regular **i**-umlaut of **ü** (96); *b*) **y** lengthened in consequence of ecthlipsis, as in **ýst** (185. 2), **hydíg** (214. 3);
- 2) as unstable when a late substitute for **fe**, the **i**-umlaut of **ea** and **eo** (97 ff.).

NOTE. Among the unstable **y**'s may be reckoned the LWS. **ý** in **sý**, **be**; **hy**, *they*; **þry**, *three*, for **sie**, **hie**, **þrie**; on the other hand, always **bí**, *big*, because no **bie** ever existed.

2. DIPHTHONGS.

34. All the OE. diphthongs, **ea**, **eo**, **io**, **ie**, etc., whether short or long, are falling diphthongs, *i.e.*, the stress is to be laid upon the former of the two sounds. The distinction of quantity is made by increasing the length of the whole diphthong in pronunciation; in other words, long **ea** is not to be understood as **e + a** or **e + á**.

NOTE. In later times, as the history of English phonology shows, there is frequently a displacement of the accent, so that **ea**, **eo** becomes **éa**, **éo** (**já**, **jó**). The probability of such a displacement in the earlier period cannot be demonstrated.

ea and eo.

35. The distinction in the pronunciation of **ea** and **eo** is presumably less in the second part of the diphthong (the **a** and **o**) than in the initial sound. In the most ancient texts **ea** is often written **æo**, **æa** (the latter form also in later documents), while **eo** interchanges with **io** almost indiscriminately in the more ancient manuscripts. It may therefore be assumed that **ea** began with an open sound, resembling **æ**, but that the first element of **eo** was a close **e** sound.

NOTE. In the later texts **ea** and **æ** begin to be confounded. Thus **éalc**, **éawfæstum**, **léas**, **éhta**, instead of **éle**, **éwfæstum**, **lés**, **éhta**; conversely, **gléaw** for **gléaw**. This confusion seems to have arisen first in the case of vowels followed by **w** (cf. 250. note 2). Only occasionally is **le** found for **ea** in late documents : **lēesre**, **bíencoddum**, for **léasre**, **béancoddum**.

ea.

36. Short **ea** is of manifold origin. It is

- 1) the so-called breaking of **a** before certain consonants, as in **earm**, **eall**, **eahta** (79; 80; 82); or
- 2) **u**-umlaut of **a**, as in **ealu**, **heafuc** (104); or
- 3) has arisen from palatal + **æ**, as in **geaf**, **ceaf**, **sceal** (75 ff.).

37. Long **ea** is

- 1) usually the representative of a Germanic **au**, as in **béam**, **éac** (63); or
- 2) has originated from the contraction of **a** with **o**, **u**, as in **sléan**, **éa** (111); or
- 3) has been developed from palatal + **æ**, as in **géafon**, **géar** (75. 2); less frequently from palatal + **a** (from older **ai**), as in **géasne**, **scéan**, **scéadan**, **for** and **beside** **gásne**, **scán**, **scádan** (75. note 3; 76).

eo, io.

38. The two digraphs **eo** and **io** frequently occur side by side in the older documents; **io** afterwards becomes more and more infrequent, until it finally disappears. **eo** and **io** are etymologically of equal value; on the other hand, **eo** is to be referred to an older **e**, while **io** grew out of an older **i**; yet this distinction is no longer to be clearly traced, even in the oldest texts. At most, we can only make the general statement that **eo** occurs quite frequently for **io** from **i**, but that **io** is less frequently found for the **eo** which springs from **e**.

39. With respect to their origin, short **eo**, **io** are

- 1) breakings of an older **e**, **i**, as in **eorðe**, **leornian** (**liornian**) 79 ff.; or
- 2) **u-** and **o-**umlauts of the same **e**, **i**, as in **eofor**, **frioðu** (**freoðu**) 106 ff.; 109; or
- 3) have originated from palatal + **o**, **u**, as in **geoc**, **geong** (74; 76).

NOTE. In unaccentuated syllables **eo**, **io** become **ea**, as in **sciptearo**, **ifigtearo**, and is subsequently reduced to **a**, as in **sciptara**, **ifigtara**, and the frequent **andwlata** for **andwllota**. A similar change of **io** to **u** is illustrated by the comparative **néodlucor** and the superlative **ateluost**.

40. Long **éo** (**fo**) usually corresponds to

- 1) Germ. **eu**, Goth. **iu**, as in **bíodan**, **béodan** (64); or it arises
- 2) from palatal + **o** in **géomor** (74); or
- 3) from the contraction of **e**, **i** with guttural vowels, as in **séon** (**sfon**), *see*; **ðéon** (**ðfon**), *thrive*, from **sehon**, **ðfon** (cf. 113 ff.).

ie.

41. The diphthongs **ie** and **fe** belong to the characteristic peculiarities of older West Saxon. At an early period their place is usurped by (unstable) **i**, **f**, and at length by **y**, **ȝ**; these latter then remain characteristic of later West Saxon (cf. 22; 31). Besides these forms, **e**, **ɛ** now and then occur, though perhaps these are not to be regarded as genuine West Saxon.

In Boeth. we sometimes meet with **eo** for the **ie** which is umlaut of **ea**, and with **eo** for the corresponding **fe**,—**coldran**, **cormða**; **gehéoran**, **néotena**, etc.

42. Short **ie** is

- 1) **i**- or palatal umlaut of **ea** and **eo**, as in **eald – ieldu**,
weorpan – wierpð (97 ff.; 101); or
- 2) a less frequent form of the **u**- and **o**-umlauts of **i**,
as in **siendun**, **ðiessum** (107; 109); or
- 3) it has arisen from palatal + **e**, as in **giefan**, **gielpan** (75. 3).

43. Long **fe** is **i**-umlaut

- 1) of **ea**, as in **héah – híehst** (99); or
- 2) of **eo**, as in **céosan – cíesð** (100. b).

NOTE. For **fe** in **gfe**, **gfena**, see 74. note 1.

II. The Vowels of the Unaccented and Slightly Accented Syllables.

44. The number of vowels occurring in these positions is in part limited by the absence of long vowels (9), in part by the non-occurrence of diphthongs and umlauted vowels. The number is thus reduced to the six

following: **a, æ, e, i, o, u**; of these **æ** and **i** are confined to the older documents, and are afterwards uniformly replaced by **e**. Concerning occasional fluctuations of the vowels **a, o, u**, detailed information will be given in the paragraphs which treat of inflection; here it is sufficient to say that **u** is, for the most part, older than **o**, while the latter is older than **a**.

NOTE 1. Under the head of inflections, it will be important to note the difference between the **e** which sprang from **æ** and that which sprang from **i**, as indicated by forms like the following: **árae**, gen. dat. acc. sing., and nom. acc. plur. fem., 252; **tungae**, nom. sing. fem., 276; **gódnae**, acc. sing. masc., 293; **saldae**, pret. 1st and 3d sing., 354; **dómae**, dat. sing. masc., 238; **gódae**, nom. plur. masc., 293; **gibaen**, past part., 366; **restaendi**, pres. part., 363; **dómaes**, gen. sing., 238; **suilcae**, adv., 315. On the other hand, **merl**, **rigl**, nom. acc. sing. masc., 262; **rícl**, do., 246; **nimis**, -id, ind. 2d and 3d sing., 357 ff.; **nerídae**, weak pret., 401, -id, past part., 402, etc.

NOTE 2. In later manuscripts the obscure **e** of an unaccented syllable is not infrequently replaced by **y**: **hálynd**, **fædyr**, **belocyn**, **wintrys**, **bityr**, for **hélend**, **fæder**, **belocen**, **wintres**, **biter**, etc.



THE RELATION OF THE OLD ENGLISH VOWEL SYSTEM TO THAT OF THE COGNATE LANGUAGES.

A. The Germanic and West Germanic Vowel System.

45. The vowel system of OE. is a modification of a general Germanic system. This general system, while it is not accurately preserved in any one of the Germanic languages, may yet be reconstructed with tolerable certainty by the method of comparison.

The Common Germanic system was composed of the following sounds :

Short vowels . . .	a	e, i ²	i ¹	[o ²]	o ¹ , u
Long vowels . . .	[a]	ɛ ²	ɛ ¹	i	o ¹
Diphthongs . . .	{ ai au	— eu.			

To this table the following observations apply :

1) The distinction between i² and i¹ rests upon purely etymological grounds, the i which was already current in the Indo-European Parent Speech (original i) being represented by i¹, while the i which was developed in Germanic from an older e is here designated as i² (see paragraph 2 below). There may also have been a difference in pronunciation.

2) e and i² are equal in etymological value. This will be evident when we consider that the e of the Indo-European Parent Speech was regularly changed to Germanic i: a) when it was immediately followed by a nasal + consonant; b) when the next syllable contained an i or j. This distinction has been more or less faithfully preserved in all the various Germanic languages, with the exception of the Gothic (which has transformed every e into i). Upon a) repose such distinctions as that between OE. OS. **helpan**, *help*, and **bindan**, *bind*; OHG. **helfan**, **bintan** (where Gothic has levelled the two, **hilpan**, **bindan**); upon b) such as OE. **helpan** inf., and **hilpð** 3d sing. pres. ind.; OS. **helpan** and **hilpid**; OHG. **helfan** and **hilfit**.

NOTE 1. This rule applies only to the e of accented syllables; in unaccented syllables the e seems to have passed uniformly (?) into i.

3) In like manner, o¹ and u are of equal value, i.e., the o¹ results from a modification of older u. This

modification took place when the following syllable contained an **a** (= **o²**, see paragraph 4 below) and the **u** was not protected *a)* by a nasal + consonant, or *b)* by an interposed **i**, **j**. Thus, for example, we have OHG. **gabuntan**, OS. **gibundan**, OE. **gebunden**, *bound*; but OHG. **gaholfan**, OS. **giholpan**, OE. **geholpen**, *holpen*, according to *a*); whereas, according to *b*), OS. **huggian**, OHG. **hucken**, OE. (with i-umlaut, 95) **hyegan**, not ***hoggian**, etc. Here, again, the Gothic uniformly has **u**: **bundans**, **hulpans**, **hugjan**.

4) By [**o²**] we have probably to understand an open **o** sound, corresponding to an **o** of the cognate languages outside the Germanic system, and, indeed, originally existent in Germanic itself. So far as we are able to see, this sound must already have been converted into **a** in all accented syllables as far back as the Common Germanic period; cf. such words as Gothic **ahtau**, OHG. OS. **ahto**, OE. **eahta** (82), with Gr. **ἀκτώ**, Lat. **octo**, etc. In unaccented syllables, **o** was probably found before nasals in Primitive OE., as will appear from a consideration of its effects upon the vowel of a preceding syllable (108; 160).

5) Original **ā** no longer existed in Germanic, since Indo-European **ā** had already become **ō** (cf. Lat. **frāter** with Gothic **bróþar**, OE. **bróðor**, OS. **bróðar**, OHG. **bróder**, **bruoder**, etc.). Certain secondary **ā**'s have, however, resulted from lengthening when accompanied by the loss of a nasal before **h**; thus Gothic **páhta**, OS. **tháhta**, OHG. **dáhta**, *thought*, for ***panhta**, from Goth. **þagkjan**, etc.; cf. the examples in 67. But as this **ā** is constantly represented in OE. by **ō**, and the substitution of **o** for **a** in OE. is always conditioned by the proximity of a nasal, we are obliged to conclude

that these **a**'s must have been nasalized as late as the Germanic period.

NOTE 2. That the vowels of Germanic **fh**, **th** (cf. 185), which have sprung in a similar way from **inh**, **nh**, must also have possessed nasal quality, may indeed be presumed, but is not susceptible of direct proof.

6) For **e²** and **e¹** it might be clearer to substitute **æ** and **ɛ**. They represent the two sounds which are indeed levelled in Gothic (as well as Kentish and Northumbrian) under **ɛ**, but are distinguished in ON. OS. as **a** and **ɛ**, in OHG. as **a** and **ɛ** (**ea**, **ia**), in WS. as **æ** and **ɛ**; cf. for example, Goth. **mél**, *time*, **hér**, *here*, with ON. OS. OHG. **mál**, WS. **mæl**, and ON. OS. WS. **hér**, *hear*, **hiar**, etc. (Kent. Northumbr. **mél**, **hér**, 150. 1.)

7) Parallel with **eu** there was once a diphthong **ei**; but the latter, passing through the intermediate stage of **ii** (cf. 45. 2. b) into **i** as early as the Germanic period, coincided at length with the pre-Germanic **i**.

8) The combinations **i** + vowel and **j** + vowel interchanged with each other in such a manner that the former was retained after long radical syllables and after suffixes of derivation, while the latter occurred after short radical syllables. In a similar manner the Indo-European **ej** + vowel has been split into **i** + vowel and **j** + vowel; *e.g.*, in present stems like **dómio-**, **nazjo-** (from *dómejo-, *nazejo-); in Goth. **dómjan**, **nasjan**, 2d pers. **dómeis**, from *domiis; but **nasjis**.

46. Midway between the Germanic and the OE. system lies the vowel scheme of the West Germanic, and hence it is the latter which must be taken as the nearest point of departure in the comparisons which we are called upon to make. The latter, however, agrees with the Germanic system in every essential particular, except

that the Germanic ϵ^2 or æ (45. 6) seems in every case to have undergone a change into a .

*B. The Representatives of the West Germanic Vowels
in West Saxon.*

47. The transformations which the Germanic vowels have undergone in OE. are essentially of a twofold character. The mutation of the vowel either takes place independently of its environment, or the latter exercises a determining influence upon it. Of the first kind is, for example, the change of Germ. *ai* to *a*, as in **hátan**, *be called*, compared with Goth. *haitan*; or that of Germ. *au* to *ea*, as in **léan**, *wages*, compared with Goth. **laun**. Of the second kind are phenomena like the various umlauts and breakings, mutations of vowels by palatals, etc.

In the following survey we shall include all the changes which each Germanic vowel undergoes in OE., considering in detail only such changes as take place independently of the environment, and reserving for a separate subdivision our remarks upon the influence of neighboring sounds.

48. Besides this distinction, it must also be observed that the development of vowels in the accented or stem-syllables is, in many respects, different from that which they undergo in the less strongly accentuated medial and final syllables. On this account the vowels of these latter syllables are again treated under a separate head.

I. The Vowels of the Stem.

I. GENERAL SURVEY OF THE CORRESPONDENCES.

a.

49. The normal change of short **a** is to **æ**. This takes place wherever special circumstances do not prevent:

1) regularly in an originally closed syllable: **dæg**, *day*; **bræc**, *broke*; **sæt**, *sat*; **wæs**, *was*; **hæft**, *captive*; **nægl**, *nail*; **hraefn**, *raven*; cf. Goth. **dags**, **brak**, *sat*, etc. (for exceptions see 10). The **æ** occurs also when the syllable, though originally closed, becomes open in consequence of secondary development of an **e** in OE.: **æcer**, *acre*; **fæger**, *fair*; **mægen**, *main*; cf. Goth. **akrs**, **fakrs**, etc., from the stems **akro-**, **fagro-**, **magnō-**.

2) in an open syllable, often interchanging with **a**, when the following syllable contains an **e**: **æðele**, *noble*; **hæleð**, *hero*; **fæder**, *father*; **hlæden** and **hladen**, **græfen** and **grafen**, past part. of **hladan**, *lade*; **grafan**, *grave*.

NOTE. This is especially noticeable in the declensions. Masc. and neut. nouns, like **dæg**, *day*, **fæt**, *rat*, have gen. **dæges**, **fætes**, dat. **dæge**, **fæte** (240); but an adj. like **hwæt**, *active*, has gen. **hwates**, instr. **hwate** (294); so feminines like **sacu**, *quarrel*, gen. dat. acc. **sæee** and **sace** (253).

50. Germanic **a** is, however, often represented by an **a** in open syllables, even in West Saxon. This is usually the case when the following syllable contains one of the vowels, **a**, **o**, **u**; thus **dæg** has the gen. plur. **daga**, dat. **dagum**; and **fæt** the nom. acc. plur. **fatu**, gen. **fata**, dat. **fatum**. Of **hwæt** the dat. sing. masc. is **hwatum**, the weak nom. sing. masc. is **hwata**; cf. the inflections

of the verb in cases like **faran** (392), 2d and 3d sing. **færer**, **færeð**, plur. **farað**, etc., and words like **atol**, **terrible**; **nacod**, **naked**; **sadol**, **saddle**, etc. (but also 104 ff.).

NOTE. A similar effect of the **a**, **o**, **u** of final syllables is produced by the **i** in the second class of weak verbs, since it sprang from an original **o**; hence we have **macian**, *make*, **laðian**, *invite* (cf. 414. note 2), like the preterits **macode**, **laðode**, etc.

For **a** before following **e**, see 49. 2.

51. In a few enclitics older **a** passes into **o** (not **ø**) ; compare the prepositions **of**, *of*, **on**, *on*, Ps. North. **ot**, *at*, with the adverbial **aef-**, **qn** (**an**), **æt** (the latter form has almost supplanted **ot** in WS.). Here may likewise be classed **ðone**, **hwone**, etc. (65. note 2).

This **o**, however, is in some cases again changed to **a**. The Kent. Gl. have **at**, **an**, **ðane**; Cura Past. 85. 16, **at-**; while **an** occurs frequently in the Hatton Ms. of the latter work, and elsewhere. For **ðane**, **hwane**, see also 337. note 1, and 341. note.

52. The changes undergone by original **a** in cases not included under the foregoing are as follows:

1) before nasals it becomes **ø** (65); **i**-umlaut of the latter is **é** (89); in consequence of the loss of the nasal before a surd spirant, **ø** becomes **ó** (86); **i**-umlaut of the latter is **é** (**œ**) (94).

2) it undergoes breaking to **ea** before **r-**, **l-**, and **h**-combinations, and before final **h** (79 ff.); the **i**-umlaut of this **ea** is **ie**, **i**, **y** (97 ff.).

3) it is changed to **ea** through the influence of a preceding palatal (74 ff.); and in this case also the **i**-umlaut is **ie**, **i**, **y** (97 ff.).

4) it undergoes **u**-umlaut to **ea** (104).

5) it becomes **ea** by contraction with a following **o, u** (111).

6) **i**-umlaut changes it to **ɛ** (89) in all cases not included under heads 1-5.

e.

53. West Germanic **ē** often remains unchanged: **helan**, *conceal*; **beran**, *bear*; **helm**, *helmet*; **helpan**, *help*; **wefan**, *weave*; **sprecan**, *speak*; **cweðan**, *say*; cf. OS. OHG. **helan**, **beran**, **helm**, etc. The occurrence of the older **ë** is limited

- 1) by its passage into **i** before nasals (69);
- 2) by the breaking to **eo**, **io** before **r**-, **l**-, and **h**-combinations and before final **h** (79 ff.); the **i**-umlaut of this **eo** is then **ie**, **i**, **y** (100);
- 3) by **u**-umlaut to **eo** (106);
- 4) by the change to **ie** after palatals (75. 3; 76);
- 5) by lengthening to **ɛ**, accompanied by eethlipsis (214. 3);
- 6) by contraction with guttural vowels, producing **eo** (113);
- 7) by the change of **weo** into **wo** and **wu** (72).

i.

54. West Germanic **i** often remains

- a) standing for Indo-European **i**, as in **bite**, *bite*; **wlite**, *face*; **witan**, *know*, pret. **wisse**; again, in the 2d sing. and the whole plur. ind., as well as in the pret. opt. of the strong verbs of the 1st ablaut class, like **stige**, plur. **stigun**, opt. **stige**, plur. **stigen** (382);
- b) as Germanic **i** from **ë**,
- a) before nasal + consonant, as in the verbs **bindan**, *bind*, etc. (386); **blind**, *blind*, etc.;

β) often before the **i**, **j** which originally followed in the 2d and 3d sing. pres. ind. of strong verbs of the 3d, 4th, and 5th ablaut classes, as **hilpð**, **bireð**, **iteð**; likewise in **biddan**, *request*; **sittan**, *sit*; **liegan**, *lie*; **diegan**, *take* (391. 3), and in many other words.

The occurrence of the **i** is limited

- 1) by the breaking to **io** (**eo**, **ie**, **y**) before **r**-, **l**-, and **h**-combinations, and before final **h** (79 ff.); the **i**-umlaut of these sounds is **ie** (**i**, **y**) (100);
- 2) by **u**-umlaut to **io** (**eo**, **ie**, **y**) (107);
- 3) by the change of **wio** to **wu** (71);
- 4) by lengthening to **i**, accompanied by eethlipsis (185; 214. 3);
- 5) by contraction with guttural vowels (114).

o.

55. As a rule, West Germanic **o** is retained: **boda**, *messenger*; **god**, *God*; **gold**, *gold*; **oxa**, *ox*; **word**, *word*. It is very common in the past part. of strong verbs of the 2d, 3d, and 4th ablaut classes (384 ff.).

Without any assignable cause an **u** is found instead of **o** in **full**, *full*; **wulf**, *wolf*; **fugol**, *fowl*; **bucca**, *buck*; **rust**, *rust*; **ufan**, *above*; **ufor**, *higher*; **ufera**, *the upper*; **furðor**, *further*; **furðum**, *indeed*; **murnan**, *mourn*; **spurnan** (also **spornan**), *spurn*; **spura**, *spur*; **murcian**, *murmur*; **enucian**, *knock*, etc.

Moreover, the domain of the West Germanic **o** is regularly contracted

- 1) by its passage into **u** before nasals (70); the **i**-umlaut of this **u** is **y** (95);
- 2) by **i**-umlaut to (**œ**), **e** (93).

NOTE. For **ð**, **ð** in **broden** for **brogden**, see 214. 3, note 2.

u.

56. West Germ. u often occurs unchanged: **burg**, *town*; **lust**, *pleasure*; **sunu**, *son*; **hund**, *dog*, etc.; very often in the preterits of strong verbs of the 2d and 3d ablaut classes (384 ff.), etc. It passes into o in **or**, Goth. us-, OHG. ur-, as in **orsorg**, *careless*, **orðqnc**, *cleverness*, Merc. **ðurh** (WS. Kent. **ðorh**, North. **ðerh**); with these may be compared the late spelling **on-** for the negative prefix **un-**. Other restrictions of the u are:

- 1) the i-umlaut to y (95);
- 2) the lengthening to ú, accompanied by eethlipsis (185; 214. 3, note 2); the i-umlaut of the latter is ý (96);
- 3) its conversion into eo, io after palatals (74); the i-umlaut of the latter is ie (i, y) (100).

á.

57. West Germ. á is of threefold origin:

I) Older á, as in the Lat. **strāta**, becomes æ in WS. **stræt**; its i-umlaut is again æ, in **læden**, *Latinus* (LWS. also **lyden**).

II) West Germ. á, from Germ. (Goth.) é (45. 6), regularly becomes æ in WS., except when the following syllable contains a, o, or u (50), when it remains as á: **ræd**, *counsel*; **rædan**, *advise*; **slæpan** (but sometimes **slápan**), *sleep*; **swæs**, *own*; **æðm**, *breath*; **æfen**, *evening*; and very often in the pret. plur. of the strong verbs of the 4th and 5th ablaut classes. Examples of the retention of á before a following a, o, u are: **mágas**, *kinsman*, from the singular **mæg**, *kinsman*; the dat. plur. **sálum**, from **sæl**, *prosperity*; **lácian**, *heal*, compared with **læce**, *physician*, etc. (cf. 240). Analogy not infrequently creates forms like **mægas**, which thus apparently contravene the rule just stated. In the pret. plur., forms like

lágon, **wágon**, occasionally occur; these are probably the normal forms, and the customary **lægon**, **wægon**, may be due to the influence of the optative.

NOTE. The e in **Ælfred**, **híred**, **dægred**, is probably short. For the normal áe we occasionally find é, but not in genuine WS. texts; thus, **rédan**, **slépan**, etc.

The i-umlaut of this æ is identical with it (91). On the other hand, the occurrence of the áe is subject to the following limitations:

1) á is retained before w in **sáwe**, 2d sing. ind.; **sáwon**, plur. ind.; **sáwe**, **sáwen**, pret. subj. of **seón**, see (Goth. **séhwum**, etc.; OS. **sáwi**, **sawun**, etc.); **getáwe**, *equipment**; **táwian**, *prepare* (cf. Goth. **téwa**, *order*); **cláwe**, *claw*; and in the foreign word **páwa**, *peacock*. On the other hand, á seems to stand for ai in the verbs **bláwan**, **sáwan**, etc. (62), and perhaps in a few others. The i-umlaut of this á is regularly áe: **læwan**, *betray*, Goth. **lēwjan**.

2) Before nasals West Germ. á is converted into ó (68); the i-umlaut of the latter is óe, ó (94).

3) After a preceding palatal it becomes éa (74; 75. 2; 76).

4) Instead of áe there occurs an éa in **néah**, *nigh*, Goth. **néhw**. In this word the éa may have been introduced in conformity with **néar**, **néan**, etc., in which the éa is the result of contraction.

III) Nasalized Germ. á from an (45. 5) becomes ó (67); the i-umlaut of the latter is óe, ó (94).

é.

58. The West Germ. é maintains itself in WS. unaltered: **hérl**, *here*; **cén**, *torch*; **méd**, *meed*; **Wéland**, *n. pr.* Here belong also the é's of the reduplicated preterits like **hét**, **slép** (395. A.).

i.

59. Older i occurs almost invariably unchanged: **hwil**, *while*; **mín**, *mine*; **ðín**, *thine*; **sín**, *his*; **wif**, *wife*; **ríce**, *kingdom*; cf. also the strong verbs of the 1st ablaut class (382).

The i is only restricted in its occurrence by contraction with a following vowel (114), as well as occasional shortening and breaking (83. note 1).

ö.

60. West Germ. ö remains throughout: **bóc**, *book*; **gód**, *good*; **fór**, *journeyed*; **slög**, *struck*, etc. Its i-umlaut is **óé**, **é** (94).

ú.

61. West Germ. ú is regularly represented by WS. ú: **hús**, *house*; **tún**, *town*; **brúcan**, *use*; **lúcan**, *lock*; and even where the Gothic has **au** before a following vowel: **búan**, *build*; **trúwian**, *trust* (Goth. **bauan**, **trauan**). The i-umlaut of ú is stable ý (96).

ai.

62. West Germ. ai becomes á: **áð**, *oath*; **stán**, *stone*; **hát**, *hot*; **sár**, *wound*; **hátan**, *be called*; **wát**, *wot*; the 1st and 3d pret. sing. of the verbs of the 1st ablaut class, as **stág** (396. d), etc. The i-umlaut of this á is é (90).

NOTE 1. The á in **gán**, *go*, may perhaps represent a West Germ. ai.

NOTE 2. Individual exceptions are: ó, *always*, together with its compounds (**ówiht**, **ówðer**, etc., 346 ff.), for and beside á (Goth. **áiw**, OHG. **eo**); **sórig**, instead of the usual **sárig**; and **wéa**, *harm* (OHG. **wéwo**). With these exceptions, ai(w) passes regularly into á(w): **snáw**, *snow*; **sláw**, *slow*; **sáwol**, *soul*; cf. also the verbs **bláwan**, **enáwan**, **máwan**, **sáwan**, **wáwan** (396), where the Goth. has **sai(j)an**, *waian* (cf. 57. II, 1).

au.

63. The regular equivalent of West Germ. au is WS. éa: éac, *eke*; éaca, *increase*; béag, *ring*; héafod, *head*; geléafa, *belief*, etc.; the 1st and 3d pret. sing. of the verbs of the 2d ablaut class, as céas (384 ff.); likewise before following w, where the Goth. has ggw, and the ON. gg(v): gléaw, *wise*; héawan, *hew*; hnéaw, *stingy* (cf. Goth. glaggwus, ON. høggva, hnøggr). The i-umlaut of éa is é (i, ý) (99).

eu.

64. West Germ. eu occurs regularly as fo, éo: bñod, *béod*, *table*; dñop, *déop*, *deep*; dñor, *déor*, *animal*; ðñod, *people*; lñof, *dear*; sñoc, *sick*; in the present forms of verbs of the 2d ablaut class, like cñosan, céosan, etc. (384); before w, in cases where the Goth. has iggw, ON. ygg(v): hréowan, *rue*, getréow, *true*, tréowa, *faith* (ON. hryggva, tryggr, etc.); finally, in foreign words like Deosdedit, Leowðerius, Eodoxe, for Deusdedit, Leutherius, Eudoxii. The i-umlaut of fo is é (i, ý), but the umlaut is often lacking, so that the diphthong remains as fo, éo (100).

NOTE. Original eu is frequently preserved in the oldest texts: ðeuw, leudgeldum.

2. SURVEY OF THE EFFECTS PRODUCED UPON ACCENTED VOWELS BY ADJOINING SOUNDS.

a) INFLUENCE OF NASALS.

65. Germanic a before nasals undergoes change to open o in a prehistoric period of OE. (25. 2). As the alphabet has but two characters, a, o, to represent the three sounds a, o, there is considerable fluctuation in

the sign for **o**. The very oldest texts, like the Epinal gloss, uniformly employ the **a**: **mann**, *man*; **brand**, *brand*; **land**, *land*; **hand**, *hand*; **nama**, *name*; **camb**, *comb*; **gangan**, *go*. In the 9th century **o** has gained the upper hand: **mon**, **brond**, **lond**, **hond**, **noma**, **lomb**, **gongan** (so without exception in the Psalter). From this time on the **a** increases in frequency, and finally succeeds in supplanting the **o**.

NOTE 1. This change to **o** is older than the metathesis of **r** (179). This accounts for the preterits **orn**, **born**, originally ***ronn**, ***bronn** (389).

NOTE 2. Peculiar are the accusatives **ðone**, *the*, **hwone**, *whom*; the instrumentals **ðon**, **hwon** (337. 1; 341); the adverbs **ðonne**, *then*, **hwonne**, *when*; the preposition **on** (not the accented adverb, which occurs as **on** and **an**). These have uniformly **o**, which must probably be regarded as close **o**. Only occasionally do the most ancient texts have **ðanne** (somewhat later **ðænne**), and it is not till a subsequent period that **ðane**, **hwane**, appear along with **ðæne**, **hwæne**; these are perhaps formed by analogy with the datives **ðám**, **hwám**, and **ðém**, **hwém**, and on that account to be written with **á**, **é**. In later documents **mænig** (**mēnig**) regularly takes the place of **mōnig**, **manig**.

66. When the following nasal is lost before a surd spirant, this **o** is regularly lengthened to **ó** (185): **gós**, *goose*; **hós**, *band*; **ós-**, *God*; **sóð**, *true*; **tóð**, *tooth*; **óðer**, *other*; **sófte**, *softly*; these stand for ***gōns**, ***hōns**, etc., (cf. Goth. **hansa**, **anþar**, OHG. **gans**, **sanfto**, etc.).

67. In like manner, OE. **ó** corresponds to the Germanic nasalized **á** from **an** (45. 5) in Goth. **fáhan**, *seize*; **háhan**, *hang*; **bráhta**, *brought*; **páhta**, *thought*; **páhó**, *clay*; **-wáhs**, *blameworthy*; OHG. **áhta**, *persecution*; **záhi**, *tough*; OE. **fón**, **hón**, **bróhte**, **ðóhte**, **óó** (Epinal **thohae**), **wóh**, **óht**, **tóh**.

68. Similarly West Germ. **á** from Germ. **é** (45. 6; 46), is changed before nasals into **ó**. Thus to Goth. **ména**,

moon, ménops, month, némun, they took, qémun, they came, correspond **móna**, **mónað**, **nómun**, **cwómun**. To the same source must be referred the **ó** in **sóna**, *soon*; **spón**, *sliver*; **gedón**, *done*; **bróm**, *broom*; **wóm**, **wóma**, *uproar*; **óm**, *rust*; **géomor**, *grief* (74).

NOTE 1. Here belong the following, which have undergone i-umlaut according to 49: **cwén**, *woman*, Goth. **qéns**; **wén**, *hope*; **gecwéme**, *convenient*, OHG. **blquáml**; **getéme**, *suitable*, OHG. **gizáml**; **gedén**, *done* (beside **gedón**); **bréme**, *famous*, etc. (cf. the dialectic forms **cwéan**, **wéan**, **gecwéame**, etc.). OE. é is, therefore, on no account to be considered identical with Germanic é. Irregular umlaut of ó is found in **benéman**, *deprive*; **nýdnáeme**, *violence*.

NOTE 2. On LWS. **námon** for **nómmon**, and **cwámon**, see 390. note 2. For older **sóm-**, *half*, there occurs a later **sám-**.

69. West Germanic é before nasals becomes i in the verb **niman**, *take*, OHG. **némnan**. The same holds of the e in foreign words incorporated into the language at an early date: **gim**, *gem*; **dinor**, *denarius*; **mint**, *mint*; **pinsian**, *consider*, from Latin **gemma**, *mentha*, *pensare*; cf. also **pín**, *torture*, from **poena** (pronounced **péna**).

70. West Germanic o before nasals becomes u: **cuman**, *come*; **genumen**, *took*; **-numa**, *receiver*; **wunian**, *dwell*; **ðunor**, *thunder*; OHG. **coman**, **ginoman**, **-nomo**, **wonón**, *donar*. So the o in the early borrowings from Latin: **munuc**, **munt**, **pund**, from Latin **monachus**, **montem**, **pondus**; with subsequent i-umlaut, **mynet**, **mynster**, from Latin **moneta**, *monasterium*.

NOTE. As nasal + consonant had already changed preceding é to i and o to u, in the Germanic period (45. 2, 3), the rules of paragraphs 69, 70, apply only to a simple nasal in the case of native words.

b) INFLUENCE OF w.

71. The combination **wio** arising from Germanic **wi** by breaking (79 ff.), or through the agency of **u-** and **o-umlaut**, usually becomes **wu**; yet older forms with the diphthong **io** (**eo**, 38), and even such as have simple **i**, now and then occur: the interjection **wuton**; **wudu**, *wood*; **wuduwe**, *widow*; **swutol**, *clear*; **wuce**, *week*; **e(w)ucu**, *living*; **wuht**, *thing* (so also **náwuht**, *náuht*, *nothing*); **betwuh**, **betwux**, *between*; beside **wiodu** (rare and old); **widuwe**, **weoduwe**; **swetol**; **wice**, **w eoce**; **cwieu**, **cwie**; **betwih**, **betweoh**, etc. Occasionally **wo** is found: **swotol**, *wolcread*, **gedwomer**.

72. The combination **weo** from Germ. **wē** (breaking or **u-umlaut**, 79 ff.; 106) generally retains its form; yet we frequently find **worold**, *world*; **worðig**, *street*; **swoloð**, *heat*; **geswosterna**, *sisters*; **worc**, **geworc**, *work*; **worpan**, *throw*; **hworfan**, *turn*. **u** is frequently substituted for this **eo** in LWS.: **swurd**, **wurðan**, **wurðian**, **swuster**, instead of **sweord**, *sword*; **weorðan**, *become*; **weorðian**, *estimate*, *prize*; **sweoster**, *sister*. Subsequently the **u** is replaced by **y**: **swyrd**, etc. Indeed, it would appear that the later MSS. employ **wur** and **wyr** almost indiscriminately; thus **u** is found for stable **y** in **wurmas**, **wurmréad**, **wurdwrítere**, **wurtrumum**, the compounds of **wurt**, etc.; it likewise occurs for unstable **y** in **wurste**; **weor** is even found for **wur**, **wyr** in **weormum**, **geoweorþa** (= **iugurtha**); **wure** is rare, and apparently very late.

73. The combinations **aw**, **ew**, and **iw** originally generated a **u** between the vowel and the **w**; the **auw** and **euw** thus formed then passed regularly into **éaw**, **éow**:

féawe, few, Goth. **fawai**; **cnéowes, tréowes, ðéowes**, etc., gen. sing. of **cnéo, knee, tréo, tree, ðeo, servant** (137), OHG. **knëwes**, etc.; **hiew**, the umlauted form of **hīow**, etc. On the other hand, the **e** is preserved in the part. **gesewen, seen** (391. note 5).

NOTE. The Gothic **mawilló, girl**, is represented by OE. **méowle**; Germ. ***awí, ewe**, OE. **éowu, ewe**; **éowde** (cf. **éowod, herd, éouistras, éowestre, sheepfold**, Goth. **awistr**). This seems to indicate that the introduction of the **u** took place after the appearance of the **i**-umlaut, so that **méowle** stands for ***mewilló**, etc.

c) PALATAL INFLUENCE.

74. The palatal semi-vowel **j** (175), when beginning a word, unites with the vowels **a** (**æ**) and **o** to form **gea, geo (gio)**: **géa, yea; géar, year; gioc, geoc, yoke; géomor, grief**. The combination **ju** sometimes remains unchanged: **iú, formerly; iung, gung, young; iuguð, guguð, youth** (cf. Goth. **ju, juggs**). But its place is usually taken by **geo, gio**: **géo; geong, glong; geoguð, gioguð**. (For **giocða**, etc., see 100. a.)

NOTE. **e** after **j** seems to become **ie** (1, **y, 22**) in **glet, gleta, yet**, but the etymology of the word is not certain, and it may belong under **75. 3**. The same is true of **gén, gien; géna, giena, still**. There is no doubt that we have an older **j** in the pers. pron. **gé**, side by side with occasional **gíe** (332).

75. The palatals **g**, **č**, and **sc** (206) have a similar effect. These change **æ, áe** (= Germ. **é, 57. II**), and **e**, into **ea, éa**, and **ie** (22 ff.):

1) **æ to ea: geaf, gave; geat, obtained; geat, gate; geatwe, trappings; ceaf, chaff; ceafas, jaws; ceaster, town; sceal, shall; sceaf, shaft; sceat, treasure, for *gæf, *gæt, etc. (cf. Goth. **gaf, gat**, etc.). Similarly, with i-umlaut (98), giest (gyst, gist, guest), for and**

beside **gæst**, Goth. **gasts** (i-stem); **ciefes**, *concubine*; **scieppan**, *create* (Goth. **skapjan**, etc.).

NOTE 1. Whether the **ie** of **glest** arises from umlauted **e** in ***gæsti**, from ***gastl**, according to 75. 3, or whether it is an umlaut of ***geasti**, for ***gæsti**, must be left undecided.

NOTE 2. Contrary to the rule, **gæ** maintains itself in **gædeling**, *companion*; **ætgædere**, **tógædere**, *together*; and in foreign words like **cæfester**, *capistrum*, **cæppe**, *cappa*, etc. Of course also in **gærs**, *grass*, for **græs** (179). "

2) **æ** to **ea**: **géafon**, *gave*; **géaglas**, *jaws*; **géaton**, *obtained*; **scéap**, *sheep*; for ***gæfon**, **gæglas**, **gæton**, **scæp** (Goth. **gébum**, etc.).

NOTE 3. **æ** from **ai** (62; 90) remains for the most part unaltered: **gæst**, along with **gást**, *spirit*; **gæd**, *luck*; **gálsa**, *luxury*; **cæg**, *key*. The umlaut form **cýse** (**cíese**) is to be referred to a hypothetical **céase**, from ***cæse**, and this from Latin **cæsus**.

3) **e** to **ie** (y, i): **giefan**, *give*; gen. dat. sing. **giefe**, *gift*; **gietan**, *obtain*; **gield**, *offering*; **gieldan**, *yield*; **giellan**, *yell*; **gielp**, *boasting*; **gielpan**, *boast*; **gied**, *song*; **sciield**, *shield*; besides **gifan**, **gyfan**, etc.

4) **ɛ** to **ie** (y, i): **scieppan**, *create*; **sciendan**, *disgrace*. On the other hand, **se᷑ðan** (**seæðan**) never exhibits palatal umlaut, though **y** is found in **scyðan**, **scyðeð**.

NOTE 4. In certain LWS. texts the palatals **č**, **ǵ**, etc., change a following **ea** to **e**, and a following **éa** to **é**: **ácerf**, *cut off*; **celf**, *calf*; **cépmonn**, *merchant*; **gét**, *poured*; **gecés**, *chose*; **scétt**, *shot*. This takes place also when the **ea** (**éa**) is due to palatal influence: **cef**, *chaff*; **forgef**, *forgive*; **beget**, *obtained*; **get**, *gate*; **scép**, *sheep*; **undergéton**, *understood*; **gér**, *year*; **ongén**, *against* (from ***ongeagn**, for ***ongægn**, according to 214. 3). This change is already to be noted in the Hatton Ms. of the Cura. Past.: **tógénes**, **ongén**, **gescédwíse**; the Cotton Ms. always retains **éa**.

NOTE 5. The **e** occasionally holds its ground: **gellan**, **gelp**, **geld**, **sceran**, etc.

Other vowels undergo no change after **g** and **e**: *galan*, *sing*; *gɔngan*, *gangan*, *go*; *gást*, *spirit*; *god*, *God*; *góð*, *good*; *guma*, *man*; *gúð*, *battle*, etc.

76. Before **a**, **o**, (**u**), **se** is sometimes a guttural, but not infrequently a palatal; cf. *scádan*, *separate*; *scacan*, *scóc*, *scæcen*, *shake* (392); *seamu* (*scømu*), *shame*; *scóp*, *poet*, with *scéadan*, *sceacan*, *scéoc*, *sceacen*, *sceamu* (*sceømu*), *scéop*. The pret. *seeolde*, *should* (423), inf. *sceolan*, pres. plur. *seeolon*, are the usual forms, though *scolde*, *sculan*, *sculon*, are occasionally found. **eu** is very rare: *sceucca* for *scucca*, *demon*.

After suffixes of derivation, medial **see** for **se** occurs before guttural vowels in LWS.; examples are **mennesea**, **Egiptiscea**, **Nazaréniscea**, **Ebréisceo**, **Grécisceo**, **Wylisceia**.

d) THE BREAKINGS.

77. Breaking, according to Grimm, may be defined as the change of a short **e** to **eo**, and that of a short **a** to **ea**. We propose to frame a more accurate definition by restricting the name to such of the changes as take place solely through the influence of following consonants (for **ea**, **eo** as **u**- and **o**-umlauts, see 104 ff.; for **ea**, **eo** from palatal + **a**, **o**, **u**, see 74 ff.).

78. Breaking is older than the **u**-umlaut, since it already prevails in the Epinal glosses, which exhibit but few traces of **u**-umlaut. That it is likewise older than the **i**-umlaut is rendered probable by the fact that the broken **ea**, **eo** undergo regular umlaut to **ie**, **i**, **y** (97 ff.).

The varieties of breaking in WS. are the following:

1) *Before r + consonant.*

79. 1) Before **r** + consonant West Germ. **e** passes into **eo**, **io**; and Germ. **a**, under the same circumstances, into **ea**.

a) **steorra**, *star*; **heorte**, *heart*; **eorðe**, *earth*; **worpan**, *throw*, = Goth. *stairra*, *hairtō*, *airþa*, *wairpan*, OS. **sterro**, *herta*, *ertha*, *werpan*, etc.

b) WS. **earm**, *arm*; **warp**, *threw*; **wearð**, *became*, = Goth. **arms**, *warp*, *warþ*.

NOTE 1. The breaking remains even when the second consonant is lost: **feorh**, *life*; **ȝweorh**, *across*; **mearh**, *horse*, gen. **feores**, **ȝweores**, *meares*.

NOTE 2. On the other hand, breaking does not occur in the umlaut forms **ærnan**, *run*; **bærnan**, *burn*; **hærfest**, *harvest*; nor in **berstan**, *burst*; **ȝersean**, *thresh*; **fersc**, *fresh*; **gærs**, *grass*; **bærst**, *burst*, and a few others like them, because in these cases the **r** + consonant is the result of metathesis (179). For **arn** (**qrn**), **barn** (**bqrn**), see 65. note 1; 389. But notwithstanding the metathesis, we have **beornan** (**byrnan**), *burn*, and **iernan** (**yrrnan**), *run*, = Goth. **brinnan**, *rinnan* (see under 2 below).

2) West Germ. **i** was likewise broken to **io**, **eo**; but as West Germ. **i** only appears before **r** + consonant in cases where **i**, **j** formerly followed this combination (45. 2), WS. **io**, **eo** is umlauted, as in **hierde** (Goth. *hairdeis*), etc. (see 100, but also note 2 above).

2) *Before l + consonant.*

80. West Germ. **a** before **l** + consonant is usually changed to **ea**, but **a** is often retained, especially in the older documents: **feallan**, *fall*; **eald**, *old*; **healf**, *half*, along with **fallan**, **ald**, **halp** (perhaps more precisely **fällan**, **äld**, **hälvp**, according to 124. 3; see also note 3), = Goth. **fallan**, etc.

NOTE 1. For forms like **Wealh - Weales, Welshman**, see 242; for their i-umlaut, 98.

NOTE 2. Breaking takes place before ll only when the latter is of Germanic origin, as in **feallan, fall; eall, all; weallan, boil**, with i-umlaut **fieell, fyll, fall**, etc. (99). Before the ll from Germanic **lJ** (228), on the other hand, we have always **ɛ**, i.e., the i-umlaut of the unchanged **a**, — **hell, hell; t̄llan, tell**; the only exception is **stellan, syllan** (CP. only **sellan**, North. **scalla**), **give** (for *sealljan), Goth. **saljan**. Breaking is not found in foreign words borrowed by LWS.: **pæll, pallium**.

81. West Germ. **e** undergoes breaking to **eo, io**, only before **lh, le**: **seolh, gen. seoles, seal; eolh, elk; feolan, command** (from *feolhan, see 218); **āseolcan, languish; meolcan, milk** (387); exceptionally in **heolfor, gore**, and in **seolf, self**, beside **sielf, sylf** (with palatal umlaut, 101. note 2), and unchanged **self** (this form exclusively found in CP.). In other cases **e** before **l + consonant** is retained: **swellan, swell; helm, helmet; helpan, help; sweltan, die**, etc.

NOTE. Whether the eo's in reduplicated preterits like **weoll, heold**, etc. (396), are to be regarded as the results of breaking, or as originally long, remains uncertain. For forms like **geolca, heolca**, etc., from **geoleca, heoleca**, originally **geoluca, heoluca**, see 106. 1.

3) Before h.

82. Before **h + consonant** ($x = hs$, 221. 2), and before the **h** which terminates a syllable, Germanic **a** is broken to **ea**: **geneahhe, abundant; eahta, eight; meahte, could; meaht, might; neaht, night; feax, hair; weaxan, grow**; also **hliehhan, hlyhhan, laugh** (with i-umlaut, 99); cf. Goth. **ahtau, mahta, mahts, nahts, fahs, wahsjan, hlahjan**; WS. **gefeah, seah**, pret. sing. of **gefēon, rejoice, séon**, see (391. note 3).

NOTE. For **miht, niht**, etc., instead of **meaht, neaht**, see 98. note.

83. Under the same conditions as in the foregoing paragraph, Germanic **e** was originally broken to **eo**, though but few forms have been preserved with an invariable **eo**: **teoh**, *order*; **teohhian**, *arrange*; **feohtan**, imp. **gefeoh**, *seoh* (367; 391. note 3); so probably **feoh**, *cattle*; **eho**, *horse*. In other words older **eo** is quite rare, e.g., **seox**, *six*; **reohlt**, *right*; **cneoht**, *boy*. The result is usually disguised by palatal umlaut (101).

NOTE 1. Even older **i** is subject to this breaking: **meox**, *ordure* (Goth. **malhstus**); **Plohtas**, *Peohtas*, *Picts*; **Wioht**, the *Isle of Wight*; and in proper names like **Wiohthún**, **Wiohtgár**, etc., besides occasional **Pihtas**, **Wiht**, etc. So also **Ieoh**, *light*, with previous shortening of **i** to **ie**. On the contrary, the WS. imperatives **téoh**, **ðéoh**, **wréoh**, from the contract verbs **téon**, **ðéon**, **wréon** (383), probably owe their **eo** to the analogy of the contract forms (Ps. North. **tíh**, etc.).

NOTE 2. Breaking is sometimes even caused by the **x** arising from **sc** by metathesis: **betweox**, *between*, but sometimes **betwix**.

4) Other Breakings.

84. There are likewise isolated occurrences of other breakings, as in **eom**, *am*, Goth. **im** (427), and in **heom**, dat. plur. of the pronoun **hé** (334). These cases admit, however, of another explanation (Paul, Beitr. VI, 64 ff.).

e) THE UMLAUTS.

85. Umlaut, in Germanic grammar, denotes those mutations of an accented vowel which are caused by a vowel or semi-vowel (**j**, **w**) of the following syllable. There is, therefore, a division into **a**-umlaut, **i**-umlaut, **u**-umlaut, etc., according to the sound by which the umlaut is produced. Moreover, the palatal consonants of OE. exercise a similar influence upon the accented vowels which precede them to that which is produced

by an **i** or **j**. We therefore add to the number of umlauts already mentioned the palatal umlaut, which is peculiar to OE.

86. The mutations of a basic vowel by umlaut are of two kinds in OE. They consist either in a partial assimilation of the basic vowel to the following sound, or in the development of the basic vowel into a diphthong. The former is the case with the **i**-umlaut,—for example, **h̄ere**, *army*, older **h̄eri**, from **hari**,—and likewise with the palatal umlaut (101); the latter is the case with the **u**- and **o**-umlaut, as in **ealu**, *ale*, from ***alu**, or **eofur**, *boar*, from ***efur**.

NOTE. Grimm regarded the second kind of umlaut as a subordinate species of breaking; but it seems better to confine the term “breaking” to the phenomena comprised under 77, and to speak of **u**- and **o**-umlaut as well as of **i**-umlaut.

87. As regards the relative age of the various umlauts, it is probable that the **i**-umlaut is the oldest of all. It succeeds breaking in order of time, but precedes the **u**-umlaut, since it already prevails in documents which exhibit but scanty traces of **u**-umlaut (78). The palatal umlaut seems to be the most recent of the number; its influence scarcely extends backward beyond historic times. Nevertheless, it is here assigned to a place immediately after the **i**-umlaut, since by nature it is related to the latter.

1) *The i-umlaut.*

88. The cause of **i**-umlaut is an **i** or **j** which originally followed the accented syllable, it being a matter of indifference whether the **i** already existed in Indo-European, or whether it was transformed in the Ger-

manic period from older **e** or **ei** (45. 2, 7). As the language underwent further development, the sounds which produced umlaut either grew unrecognizable, by weakening to **e** (44), or were entirely lost (177). Hence the causes of this umlaut can, in the majority of cases, only be determined by a comparison with the cognate languages, which, in the preservation of the **i, j**, represent an older stage than OE.

89. The **i**-umlaut of the short **æ**, as well as of the older, unchanged **a**, is **ɛ**: **hērigan**, *glorify*; **nērigan**, *save*; **hēre**, *army*; **tēllan**, *count*; **sēttan**, *set*; **wēccan**, *awaken*; **lēcgan**, *lay*, = Goth. **hazjan**, **nasjan**, **harjis**, **satjan**, **wakjan**, **lagjan**, etc.

A similar **ɛ** also occurs regularly as the umlaut of the **a** before nasals, which, as we have seen, interchanges with **ɑ** (65): **frēmman**, *frame*; **mēn(n)**, *men*; **sēndan**, *send*; **strēngra**, *stronger*; **drēnean**, *drench*, from the stems **frōm**, *forwards*; **mōn**, *man*; **strōng**, *strong*; **drōne**, *drank*, etc. That this **ɛ** is not identical with the umlaut of **æ** (**a**), and was therefore pronounced differently, is rendered evident by the fact that it does not undergo palatalization by a preceding **c** or **g**: **cēmes**, **cēmban**, **cēmpa**, **cēnnan**, **Cēnt**, **-gēnga**, etc. (cf. 75. 4).

NOTE. **ærnan**, *run*, **bærnan**, *burn* (causative), = Goth. **braunjan** (cf. 179), regularly have **æ**; so likewise **(ge)dæftan**, *make ready*; **hæftan**, *confine*; **fæstan**, *fasten*; **mæstan**, *fatten*; **hlæstan**, *load*; **læccean**, *seize*; **smæccean**, *taste*; **hæle**, **hæleð**, *man*; **haerfest**, *harvest*; **ge-mæcca**, *comrade*; **sæcc**, *strife*; but **gerestan**, *rest*; **hnēsce**, *soft*, etc.

This **æ** also occurs sporadically in other words,—thus in **sæegan**, *say*; **stæpe** (**stēpe**), *step*; **stæppan**, **stēppan**, *walk*; **æl-**, **el-**, kindred with Gothic **aljis**, *other* (e.g. in **ælðéodlig**, **elðéodlig**, *foreign*); and before nasals: **sændan**, **ðænean**, **ængel**, **mænn**, etc.

90. The i-umlaut of OE. **a** (from ai and **a**, 62 and 57) is **æ**: **hál**, *whole*, **hælan**, *heal*; **lár**, *lore*, **lærان**, *teach*; **án**, *one*, **ænig**, *any*; **dæl**, *deal*, **hæl**, *omen* (i-stems). So also **gán**, *go*, 2d 3d sing. **gæst**, **gæð** (430); **læwan**, *betray*, Goth. **lēwjan**.

NOTE. Some words fluctuate in regard to the use of umlaut forms: **hráw** and **hréw**, *corpse*; **hláw** and **hlæw**, *funeral-mound*. It is not easy to discover the reason for umlaut in **mæst**, *most*; **flæsc**, *flesh*. In doubtful cases, umlaut points to original i-stems, as in **sé**, *sea*; **æ**, **æw**, *law*, etc.

91. The i-umlaut of WS. **æ**, = Germ. (Goth.) **é** (57. II), is likewise **æ**: **læce**, *leech*, Goth. **lēkeis**; **dæd**, *deed*, Goth. **déds** (i-stem); **mære**, *famous* (jo-stem).

NOTE. Goth. **mékeis**, *sword*, is always **méce** in WS., although the OS. form is **máki**. For other é's which are only apparently identical with Goth. é, see 68. note 1. No instances of the i-umlaut of Germ. (Goth.) **é** = OE. **é** (58) are known to exist.

92. A true OE. i-umlaut of **e** does not exist, as every Germanic **e**, when followed by **i**, **j**, had already become **i** (45. 2). The interchange of **e** and **i** in groups like **etan**, **itest**, **iteð** (Goth. **itan**, **itis**, **itip**); **helpan**, **hilpest**, **hilpð**; OE. **regn**, *rain*, **rignan**, **rínan**, *rain* (for **rignjan**), etc., belongs to a period antecedent to that of OE.

93. The i-umlaut of **o** is

1) **e** in **morgen** and **mergen**, *morrow*; **dohtor**, dat. sing. **dehter**, *daughter*; **efes** (OHG. **obasa**, Goth. **ubizwa**); **oxa**, nom. acc. plur. **exen** (277. note 1); so likewise in **ele**, *oil*, from Lat. **oleum**; **cel(l)endre**, Lat. **coriandrum**.

2) usually **y**: **gold**, *gold*, **gylden**, *golden*; **hold**, *gracious*, **hyldo**, *grace*; **forht**, *timid*, **fyrhtu**, *fear*; **gnorn** (**á**-stem) and **gnyrn** (i-stem), *grief*, etc.

NOTE. This **y** is not the direct umlaut of OE. **o**, but of an antecedent **u** which (45. 3) existed already in Primitive Germanic in place of **o** before following **i, j**; cf., for example, OS. **gold**, **guldín**; **hold**, **huldI**, etc. In the examples under 1, where we have the true umlaut of **o**, the **o** was transferred, before the occurrence of the **i**-umlaut, from the cases where the latter is absent to those where it was subsequently found. Where this explanation does not hold, the **o**, as in the case of **ele**, belongs to a foreign word.

94. The i-umlaut of **o** is **é**:

- a) older **o** (60): **dóm**, *doom*, **démán**, *deem*; **bóc**, *book*, **béc** plur.; **sóhte**, *sought*, **sécan**, *inf.*; **gléd**, *gleed*, **spéd**, *speed* (i-stems);
- b) **o** before nasals from West Germ. **á**, Germ. **é** (see 68. note 1);
- c) **é** from older **qn**, **an** (66): **góś**, *goose*, plur. **gés**; **sófte**, *softly*, adv., **séfte**, adj.; **fón**, *catch*, **félst**, *féhð*, 2d and 3d sing.; **éht**, *persecution*, **éhtan**, *persecute*.

NOTE. In the oldest texts **é** is found, though but very seldom, in place of **é**: **éðel**, *éðel*, Cura Past. 2. 7; **dá**, ib. 8. 2, for the regular **dá**.

95. The i-umlaut of **u** is **y**: **wulle**, *wool*, **wyllen**, *woollen*; **gesund**, *sound*, **gesynto**, *soundness*; **hungor**, *hunger*, **hyngran**, *hunger*; **burg**, *city*, **byr(i)g** (284), etc.

NOTE. The instances of **y** from **u** are very numerous, but only a few pairs of words with **u** and **y** can be adduced, since Prim. Germ. **u** scarcely ever occurred except before nasal + consonant and before **i, j** (45. 3), and therefore must of necessity have undergone umlaut in almost every instance.

96. The i-umlaut of **ú** is **ý**:

- a) older **ú**: **brúcan**, *use*, **brýcð** 3d sing.; **tún**, *hedge*, **ontýnan**, *open*; **brýd**, *bride* (i-stem);
- b) **ú** from **un** (185. 1): **fús**, *ready*, **fýsan**, *hasten*; **cúð**, *known*, **cýðan**, *make known*; **ýð**, *wave* (já-stem), etc.

Diphthongs.

97. In the older texts the i-umlaut of ea and éa is usually ie and fe, and afterward the sound designated by unstable i (22); the latter is often represented by i (as well as ie), and in a still later period more usually by y. In the tenth and eleventh centuries the y predominates, except in cases where there seems to have been an actual change to the pure i-sound. The sound is occasionally represented by simple e (short and long).

98. Examples of ea:

a) broken ea (79 ff.): earm, *poor*, iermðu, *misery*, ierming, *wretch*; eald, *old*, ieldra comp., ildesta superl., ieldu, *age*; weallan, *boil*, wielð 3d sing., wielm, *surge* (i-stem); Wealh, *Welshman*, wielisc, *foreign*; weaxan, *grow*, wiexð 3d sing. (so likewise sliehð, ðwihið, from sléan, *smite*, ðwéan, *wash*); hliethan, *laugh* (Goth. hlahjan); sliht, *battle* (i-stem).

b) ea after palatals (74 ff.): scieppan, *create* (Goth. skapjan); ciefes, *concubine* (OHG. kebisa); giest, *guest* (i-stem).

The later forms of these words are irmðu, iirming, ildra, ildesta, ildu, wilð, wilm, wilisc, wixð, slihð, ðwihið, hliethan, sliht, scippian, cifes, gist; still later are yrmðu, yldra, wylm, wylisc, hlyhhhan, slyht, scyppan, cyfes, gyst, etc. More rarely occur forms like eldra, welm, wergan, etc.

NOTE. In miht, *might*, and niht, *night* (284), the i is tolerably stable; so also in the unaccented -scipe, -ship (263), -sclepe being exceedingly rare.

99. Examples of éa: héah, *high*, hfehra comp., hfehst superl.; héawan, *hew*, hfewð 3d sing.; néat, *animal*, níeten dimin.; béacen, *beacon*, bfeenan, *beckon*; geléafa,

belief, gelfefan, believe; hferan, hear; nfed, need; lfeġ, flame (i-stems), etc.; afterward *hfhra, hfhst, nften, bſenan, gelſfan, hfran, nfd, lfg, and hýhra, hýhst, nýten, gelyfan, hýran, nýd*; more rarely *hēhra, néten, geléfan, héran*, etc.

NOTE. Before *e* and *g* the *y* is but seldom written, and, as a rule, the *i* subsequently remains constant: *fean, increase; smfean, smoke; lfg, flame; lget(u), lightning; fg, fglond, island; cígan, call* (the two latter from *auja, *kaujan); sometimes *lég, légitu, églond, cégan*; always *strégan, strew* (Goth. *straujan*), and *réc, reek*.

For this *fg* there sometimes occurs the combination *fgg* (24. note): *lgge, flame, dat. sing.; gecigged, part.; lgge, dat. sing., etc.*

100. The i-umlaut of *eo* and *éo* is exactly the same as that of *ea* and *éa*, being represented by *ie, i, y, and ie, i, ý, rarely e, é*; it is, however, to be observed that the umlaut of *éo* is comparatively infrequent.

a) Examples of *eo*: *feorr, far, áfierran, remove; weorpan, throw, wierpð 3d sing.; weorð, worth, subst., wierðe adj.; weorc, work, wiercan, toil; ierre, anger, angry, hierde, herdsman* (jo-stems); *fierst, time* (i-stem, with metathesis, 179); afterward *áfirran, wirpð, wirðe, wirecan, irre, hirde, first, and áfyrran, wyrpð, wyrðe, wyrecan, fyrst*; rarely *werecan*, etc. (cf. also *giocða, giecða, gicða, prurigo; gyceenis, do.; OS. jukido, and 74*).

NOTE 1. Forms without umlaut, like *eorre, heorde*, are less frequent, and perhaps not genuine West Saxon.

NOTE 2. Before *h* + consonant the variant *y* is rarely met with: *leoht, light, llehtan, lihtan, lighten; wrlexlan, wrixlan, exchange*; cf. also *llian, illuminate*, for *leohsjan, with early shortening of the *éo* (Goth. *liuhsjan). But note the exceptions *wiht* and *wyht, thing* (i-stem), *rihtan* and *ryhtan, direct*, probably on account of the *w* and *r*; and *gesiehð, gesihð, gesyhð, countenance*, because in this word *h* and *ð* were not originally conjoined (suffix -ð, from -ipa, 255. 3).

So from *geong, young* (74), is formed the comp. *gl(e)ngra, superl. gl(e)ngest, not gyngra, etc.*, presumably on account of the initial *g*.

b) Examples of *eo*: *céosan*, *choose*, *cíesð* 3d sing.; *hréowan*, *rue*, *hrfewð* 3d sing.; *léoht*, *light*, *lsehtan*, *illuminate*; *gestréon*, *possession*, *stríenan*, *obtain*; *tréow*, *faith*, *getríewe*, *faithful*; *ðíestre*, *gloomy*; later *císd*, *hríwð*, *lshtan*, *strínan*, *getríwe*, *ðístre*, and *cýsð*, *hrýwð*, *lýhtan*, *strýnan*, *getrýwe*, *ðýstre*; but frequently *stréonan*, *getréowe*, *ðéostre*, etc.; *leóran*, *go*, never takes umlaut, and the same is generally true of *stéoran*, *steer* (in LWS., 403 ff.), unless this form should prove to belong to some other dialect.

NOTE. In EWS., forms without umlaut are not at all common.

2) *The Palatal Umlaut.*

101. The palatal umlaut is of only secondary importance in WS., but its sphere is more extended in the other dialects (161). Its chief influence in WS. consists in the conversion into *ie* of the *eo*, *io* which was caused by the breaking of *e* before an originally guttural *h* + consonant (83), this *ie* afterwards passing into *i* and *y* (cf. 22; 100). Thus the older *reohlt*, *right*, *eneoht*, *servant*, *seox*, *six*, **wreoxl*, *change*, become *rieht*, *enieht*, *siex*, *wriexl*, and finally, *riht*, *eniht*, *six*, *wrixl*, or *ryht*, *syx* (but hardly *enylht*, *wryxl*). In a similar manner *ea*, *éa*, are converted into *e*, *é*, before *h*, *x*, *g*, and *c*, the phenomena being of rare occurrence until LWS. Examples of the latter change are:

a) before *h*, *x*: *wexan*, *grow*; *ðweh*, *wash*, imp.; *geðeht*, *thought*; *ehteða*, *eighth*; *hléhter*, *laughter*; *lehtrian*, *accuse*; *genehhe*, *sufficient*; *seh*, *saw*; *sleh*, *slew*; *exl*, *shoulder*; *fex*, *hair*; *flex*, *flax*; *sex*, *knife*; *wex*, *wax*, sb.; *téh*, *drew*; *þéh*, *though*; *néh*, *nigh*; *néhsta* (*néxsta*), *next*; *héhsta*, *highest*.

b) before **g**: *ége*, *eye*; *hég*, *high*; **forbéh**, *avoided*.
 c) before **c**: *céc*, *cheek*; **bécn**, *beacon*; **geléc**, *locked*;
 tō **écan**, *besides*.

Less clear, though probably due to palatal influence, are the forms **mihte**, *could* (earlier **meahte**), and **miht**, *might*; **mihtig**, *mighty*; **niht**, *night*, to be compared with **meaht**, **meahtig**, **neahht** (ie is rare in these cases).

NOTE 1. For other similar effects of **g**, **c**, cf. 106-109.

NOTE 2. Upon a change from guttural to palatal I may perhaps depend the variation of the vowel in **seolf**; **sielf**, **sylf**, **self**, *self* (81).

3) *The u- and o-umlaut.*

102. Before a following **u** or original **o** a West Germ. **a** may be changed in OE. to **ea**, **e** to **eo**, **i** to **io**; but the influence of this umlaut is limited, especially in West Saxon. Again, the effect of the **u** is more extended than that of the **o**, for which reason we consider the two separately. The **u** and **o** which have given rise to umlaut have not always retained their original form throughout historic times: **u** has frequently passed into **o**, particularly in derivative suffixes, while older **ð** has uniformly become **a**, older **ø** being represented now by **o** and now by **a** (more rarely **u**). As a rule, **u-** and **o-umlaut** penetrate only through a single consonant. Individual exceptions to this rule are noted below.

a) *The u-umlaut.*

103. Besides being produced by the **u** of the **u**-stems (270 ff.), the **u** of the nom. sing. fem. and of the nom. acc. plur. of short-stemmed neuters (252; 238), and the **w** of the suffixes **-wo**, **-wá**, the **u-umlaut** may also be occasioned by the suffixes **-oc**, **-od**, **-ot**, **-oð**, **-or**, **-ol**, **-on**,

-um, standing for older -uc, -ud, -ut, etc. (the latter endings, though for the most part pre-historic, being occasionally found in the manuscripts).

104. a to ea. This umlaut is tolerably rare. Perhaps only the following words have ea with entire uniformity: ealu, ale; eafoð, *strength*; heaðu-, *battle*; beadu, gen. beadwe (259), *battle*. ea is usual in eafora, *posterity*, heafola, *head*, but rare in the following words: heafoc, hawk; dearoð, *arrow*; ealoð, ale; wearoð, *shore*; eatol, *terrible*.

NOTE. In cearu, *care*; gearu, *ready*; geador, *together*; sceatu, *shadow*; geatwe, *arms*, etc., the tolerably constant ea may in part be ascribed to the palatal c, g (74 ff.). In fealu, *tawny*; bealu, *evil*; bearu, *grove*; nearu, *narrow*; searu, *armor*, gen. fealwes, bearwes, etc., the ea is perhaps to be regarded as breaking (79 ff.).

105. In case-forms containing u in the inflectional suffix, WS. ea is decidedly infrequent, as in hæf, *ocean*, nom. plur. heafu, -o; almost without exception we have bladu, gladu, wadu, baðu, paðu, staðu, fatu, hwatu, scrafu, trafu, salu, walu, dat. plur. þladum, etc., from blað, *blade*, glæd, *glad*, etc. In gesceapu, *destiny*, geatu, *gates* (sing. geat), the ea is due to palatal influence (74 ff.).

ea is never found before palatals, hence magu, hagu, lagu, nacod, racu, sacu, ðracu, wacu, wracu, and never *meagu, etc.

106. 1) e to eo is tolerably frequent, and may be assumed as a normal change: heoru, *sword*; weorod, *people*; weorold, *world*; heorot, *hart*; sweoloð, *flame*; geol(e)ca, *yolk*; eofor, *boar*; eofot, *guilt*; geofon, *ocean*; heofon, *heaven*; seofon, *seven*; meodu, *mead*; meodume, *moderate*; meotod, *God*; yet e is sometimes

retained, especially before dentals: **medu**, **medume**, **metod**, **werod**, **hefon**, etc.

2) **u**-umlaut is regularly wanting before the palatals **c**, **g**: **brego**, *ruler*; **regol**, *rule*; **recone**, *quickly* (yet occasionally **reogol**, and once **breogo**, Andr. 305).

3) **eo** is likewise avoided in words to which an *inflectional u* is attached: **speru**, **gebedu**, **gemetu**, **gesetu**, **gebrecu**, from **spere**, *spear*; **gebed**, *prayer*; **gemet**, *measure*; **geset**, *dwelling*; **gebrec**, *crash*; yet such words have now and then umlaut, as **geseotu**, **gewiosfu** (from **gewef**, *web*).

NOTE. Here belongs also the stereotyped form **feola**, *much*, frequently **feala** (with unexplained **ea**), but also **fela**, the latter being the most usual form. The variable vowel of the stem must be explained by the original variation of the vowel in the inflectional syllable, cf. Goth. **filu**, **filaus**, etc.

107. 1) **i** to **io** is common in older WS.: **siolufr**, **siolfur**, *silver* (Goth. **silubr**); **mioluc**, *milk* (Goth. **miluks**); **wiolic**, *whelk*; **sioloc**, *silk*; **sionoð**, *synod*; **swiotol**, *manifest*; **siodu**, *custom*; **frioðu**, *peace*; then in inflected words like **clif**, **cliofu**, -um, *cliff*; **hlið**, **hlíoðu(m)**, *declivity*; **lim**, **liomu(m)**, *limb*; also before two consonants, as in **siondun**, *are*; **ðiossum**, *this*. Only before gutturals is the **io** very rare: **siogor**, *victory*; **-tiogoða**, **-tieth** (in **ðrtiogoða**, *thirtieth*, etc.); **swiocol**, *deceptive*.

2) **eo** also occurs as an equivalent of **io**, persisting in some words down to the LWS. period: **seolfor**, **meole**, **seole**, **freoðu**, **hleoðu**, etc. In such cases **ie** also occurs, particularly before two consonants, **siendun**, **ðiessum**, subsequently replaced by the **i**, **y**, into which the **ie** develops: **sindun**, **ðyssum**, **silofr**, **wiloc**, along with **syndun**, **ðyssum**, **sylofr**, **wyloc**, etc. Before pala-

tals **i** occurs uniformly whenever **io** (**eo**) is not preserved: **sigor**, *victory*; **-tigoða**, *-tieth*; **nicor**, *sea monster*; **sticol**, *prickly*; **swicol**, *deceptive*.

NOTE 1. Analogy frequently effaces the distinctions between inflectional forms which have and those which have not umlaut: **clif**, **clifu**; **hlis**, **hlisu**, not ***clyfu**, ***hlyu**; thus, among the verbs, **ridun**, **gripun**, etc., in accordance with **ride**, **gripe** (2d sing. ind. and entire opt.), but not ***rydun**, ***grypun**, notwithstanding the old **riodun**, **griopun**, which are sporadically retained.

NOTE 2. Ps. North. have **mile**, and **widwe**, **widua**, in place of the WS. **wuduwe** from **wioduwe** (71).

β) The o-umlaut.

108. The **o** which produces this umlaut, and which has for the most part become **a** in OE., usually belongs to final or derivative syllables, and often interchanges with other vowels, particularly **e**, **i**, in the inflection of the same word. The variation of the stem-vowel thus caused in the different cases, etc., of the same word, was very frequently obscured in OE. by the operation of analogy, the umlaut vowels being generally levelled under those which had remained unaffected. There is consequently more difficulty in establishing rules for the **o**-umlaut than for the **u**-umlaut.

109. The West Germ. **a** suffers no **o**-umlaut in WS. (cf. 50; **secaða**, *robber*, belongs under 76); older **e** and **i**, on the contrary, exhibit frequent traces of it.

a) Umlaut of **e** manifests itself in a few weak nouns like **weola**, *riches*, **seofa**, *mind*, **ceole**, *throat*, alongside of **wela**, **sefa**; isolated in **geostran**, *yesterday* (beside **giestran**, **gistran**, **gystran**, according to 75. 3); very rarely in forms of the verb, like inf. **beoran**, part. **beorende**, etc.

b) Umlaut of **i** to **io**, **eo** is more frequent, especially in weak verbs of the 6-class: **tiolian**, *aim*; **bewiotian**, *perform*; **cliopian**, *call*; **hlionian**, *lean*, etc.; but also **tilian**, **bewitian**, **clipian**, **hlinian**; then in weak nouns like **swiora**, **swira**, *neck*; **qndleofa**, **bigleofa**, *food*; **wiota**, **wita**, *counsellor*, etc.; and so in ***wiocu**, **wucu** (71), the gen. plur. **heora** (334), the adv. **teola**, **tela**, *quite*, from adj. **til**; even in connection with syncope of **o** in the acc. sing. masc. **ðiosne** (**ðisne**, **ðysne**, *this*, with unstable **i**), 338.

NOTE. Here belongs also **sloððan** (**seoððan**, **sleððan**, **siððan**, **syððan**), *afterward*, from **sið ðon** (cf. 337. note 1), with shortening of the **i**.

An intervening palatal prevents the occurrence of o-umlaut: **plega**, *game*; **plegian**, *play*; **trega**, *affliction*; **þrendwreca**, *messenger*, etc.

f) HIATUS AND CONTRACTION.

110. In Primitive OE. hiatus often occurred in consequence of the loss of certain medial consonants, especially **h**, more rarely **w** and **j**, as well as occasionally by the vocalization of a final **w**. It has, however, usually been removed by contraction of the two vowels which were thus brought together, though, when the former of the two vowels was unaccented, as was the case with the proclitic **be**, **ne**, this vowel was elided, as in **bæftan**, **bufan**, **bútan**, **nabban**, **nyllan**, **nytan**, from **be-æftan**, etc. (cf. 416. note 1; 428. note 2; 420. 1). To this may perhaps be added the adj. **nistig**, **nestig**, *sober*, *fasting* (from ***wist**, *food*).

The fact must not escape notice, that the second of the contracted vowels often belongs to an older stage

than those in the contract forms of historic OE.; and particularly that **o** still occupied the place of the OE. **a**.

NOTE 1. It is no exception to this rule, that inflectional endings beginning with a vowel are, in some cases, attached to stems ending in a vowel, as in **héau**m, dat. sing. of **héah**, *high*; **Swéou**m, dat. plur. of **Swéon**, *the Swedes*. The shorter forms, like **héam**, **Swéom**, which almost always run parallel with them, show that the fuller endings have been subsequently appended, after the analogy of stems ending in a consonant.

NOTE 2. A contract form is frequently introduced where it cannot be justified by phonetic laws: *e.g.*, a pres. subj. **sléa** (367) does not admit of derivation from the basic form (= Goth. *slahai*), but arose through the analogy of the indicative **ea** (inf. **sléan**, from ***slahon**, 1st sing. ind. **sléa**, from ***slahu**, etc., 111).

The following contractions in WS. require particular notice:—

111. West Germ. **a + o, u**, becomes **ea**. Here belong the contract verbs **léan**, **sléan**, **ðwéan** (392. 2), for ***la(h)on**, etc.; 1st sing. **léa**, **sléa**, **ðwéa**, for ***la(h)u**, etc.; besides **ea**, *water*, from ***ah(w)u**, Goth. **ahwa**; **ðréa**, *threat*, from **ðrawu** (Ep. *thrauu*); **éar**, *ear of grain*; **téar**, *tear*, from ***a(h)ur**, ***ta(h)ur**.

112. West. Germ. **á** (= Germ. **é**) + **o, u**, also becomes **ea** after shortening of the **á**: **néar**, *nearer*, from ***ná(h)or**; **néan**, *from near by*, from ***ná(h)un**; **bréa**, *brow*, from ***brá(w)u**; **cléa**, *claw*, from ***clá(w)u**; **péa**, *peacock*, from **pá(w)o**; and perhaps **hréaw**, *raw*, **stréaw**, *straw*, OHG. **hráo**, **stráo**.

113. West Germ. **e + o, u**, becomes **eo (fo)**, *e.g.*, in the contract verbs **geféon**, **pléon**, **séon** (391. 2), from ***-fe(h)on**, etc., 1st sing. **geféo** from ***-fe(h)u**, etc.; the wk. masc. **twéo**, *doubt*, from ***twe(h)o**; the wk. fem.

séo, *pupil*, from *se(h)ō; but **geséa**, *joy*, has ea, if the word corresponds exactly to OHG. **gifeho**.

e + e yields é in **tén**, **téne**, *ten*, from *te(h)en (the parallel form **tiéne**, **týne**, is either contracted directly from *tihen-, or is umlauted from *téoni, itself from *tehuni). For similar cases in the Ps. and North. see 166. 5.

114. West Germ. i, í + o, u, becomes **fo**, **éo**, *e.g.*, in the contract verbs **téon**, **ðéon**, **wréon**, **léon**, **séon** (383), from *tí(h)on, etc., 1st sing. pres. **téo**, **ðéo**, etc., from *tí(h)u, *ðí(h)u, etc.; **féond**, *enemy*, **fréond**, *friend*, from *fi(j)ond, *fri(j)ond; **fréo**, *free*, from *fri(j)o (297. note 2); **gléo**, *glee*, **héo**, *form*, from *gliwo, *hiwo (250. note 3); besides the pronouns **héo**, **séo** (334; 337), from **hi** + **u**, **si** + **u**, by the addition of the feminine ending **u**; the neut. **ðréo**, *three* (324), from *ðri(j)u, etc.

115. OE. ó + o, u, e, becomes ó: **fón**, *seize*, **hón**, *hang*, from *fó(h)an, 1st sing. pres. **fó**, **hó**, from *fó(h)u, *hó(h)u, opt. **fó**, **hó**, from *fó(h)e, **hó(h)e**; **ðó**, *clay*, from *ðó(h)e, etc.

116. West Germ. u + vowel generally remains unchanged in **búan**, *build*, and its derivatives (but the pres. plur. opt. has **bún** as well as **búen**, and the past part. **gebún** as well as **gebúen**, etc.). In **trúwian**, *trust* (Goth. **trauan**), a w has made its appearance; and so, too, in the oblique cases of **rúh**, *rough*, such as **rúwes**, etc. (295. note 1).

NOTE. Prim. OE. ý + vowel contracts to long éo: **réo**, *covering*, **céo**, *chough*, from **rýhae** (**rýae**), **chýae**.

In LWS. ý + vowel contracts to ý in **þýn**, *compress*; **scýn**, *incite*; ***týn**, *instruct*.

117. West Germ. ai (= OE. *a*) + vowel, becomes *a*: *tá*, *toe*; *slá*, *sloe*; *dá*, *doe*; *rá*, *roe*, from West Germ. **taiha*, OE. **tá(h)a*, etc.

In case of i-umlaut we have *æ*: *sæ*, *sea*, gen. *sæs*, etc., for **sæes*; *æ*, *law*, gen. dat. acc. *æ* for **æe*, etc.

118. OE. *ea*, whatever its origin, absorbs the following vowel into itself: *héah*, *high*, gen. *héas*, nom. plur. *héa*, wk. nom. sing. masc. *se héa*, for **héa(h)es*, **héa(h)e*, **héa(h)a*, etc.; *sléa*, *blow*, for **sléa-e* (110. note 2); *fréa*, *lord*, from **frau(j)a*, etc.; but also forms like *héaum*, etc. (110. note 1).

119. OE. *eo* likewise absorbs the following vowel, e.g., in the contract verbs *téon*, *draw*, *fléon*, *flee* (384), from **teu(h)on*, etc., 1st sing. pres. ind. opt. *téo*, *fléo* from **teu(h)u*, **teu(h)e*, etc.; so likewise in the case of recent formations like opt. *téo*, for **téo-e*, from *téon*, *accuse* (110. note 2; 367).

3. VARIATIONS OF QUANTITY.

120. Thus far it has been tacitly assumed that the quantity of the West Germ. vowels was retained in OE., except where a change has taken place as the result of contraction, eethlipsis, or the like. This assumption, however, is not strictly true. By a comparison of the later development of OE. with the indications of length furnished by the manuscripts (gemination and accent, 8), we are led to the conclusion that a number of changes in the original quantities of vowels, hitherto usually referred to later periods of the language, do, in reality, date from OE. This is particularly true of vowel lengthening.

We are not in a position to determine with entire

accuracy the extent of these changes in detail; for, on the one hand, the indications of quantity in the manuscripts are but scanty; and, on the other, these indications have either been inaccurately reproduced by the editors of OE. texts, or else have been entirely ignored.

NOTE. According to Sweet, the following editions are trustworthy in this regard: Kemble and Skeat's Gospels, Goodwin's *Guðlac*, and Sweet's *Cura Pastoralis* and *Orosius* (cf. 2. note 2). Cf. also a paper by the editor in the *American Journal of Philology*, vol. v. pp. 318-24.

The formulation of precise laws of quantity is rendered more difficult by the circumstance that the phenomena in question vary, in regard to extent and period of occurrence, with the individual dialect. Such being the case, we are obliged to content ourselves with very general statements; and, in order to provide against misunderstandings, we shall designate lengthened vowels by the macron (-), to distinguish them from those that were originally long.

a) *Lengthening.*

121. Long final vowels in monosyllables: *hwā*, *who*, from **hwa(r)*, Goth. *hwas*; *swā*, *so*, Goth. *swa*; *ā*, inseparable prefix (for *ar*, Goth. *us*, OHG. *ar*, etc.); *sē*, *the*, Goth. *sa*; *hē*, *he*, *wē*, *we*, *gē*, *ye*, *mē*, *me*, *ðē*, *thee*, from **hē(r)*, *wē(r)*, **mē(r)*, etc. (cf. Goth. *i-s*, *mi-s*, etc.); *nē*, *not*, Goth. *ni*; *bi* (big, 24. note), *by*, Goth. *bi*; *nū*, *now*, *ðū*, *thou*, Goth. *nu*, *þu*.

NOTE. This does not, however, preclude the assumption that these words, when used as enclitics in the spoken language, were sometimes shortened in pronunciation; cf. especially *be* (*bī*), and the inseparable *ge*, older *gī* (Goth. *ga-*), which is never lengthened.

122. There is a tendency to lengthen monosyllabic words ending in a single consonant. Under this head fall the following adverbs and particles, which are in part

enclitic: *āc, but; āf-, from* (*e.g., in āfweard, absent, āfwerdelsa, injury*) ; *fōr-, for-; ūf, of; ūn, on* (also in cases like *ōnettan, excite*, or as a proclitic form of *qnd, e.g. in ūn-drēdan, fear, ūn-gietan, understand*) ; *ōr-, Lat. ex-, e.g. in ūrsorg, careless; ūn-, un-, e.g. ūnriht, wrong; ūp, ūpp, up; īn, in; mīd, with; gīf, if; gīt, gēt, giet, yet.* Furthermore, in *wēl, well, bēt, better*; the pronouns *īc, I, ðāt, that, hwāt, what*; instr. *ðōn, hwōn*; the copula *īs, is*; besides nouns like *fāt, vat, wēg, way, wēr, man, clif, lōf, praise, gebōd, mandate*; adjectives like *hōl, hollow*; verbal forms like the preterits *bād, requested, brāc, broke, sāt, sat*, etc.

This tendency even extends to words now ending in a single consonant which was originally geminated. Thus we meet with *mōn, mān, man*, plur. *mēn, cān, can, ēal, all, gewīt, intellect, cīn, kin*, gen. *mōnnes, ealles, gewittes*, etc.; besides forms like *gesēt, set*, from *geseted, gesett*; *sīt, sits, ongīt, understands, forgīt, forgets*, instead of *siteð, ongiteð*, etc.

123. Much less pronounced is the tendency to prolong a short vowel before a single consonant in dissyllabic and polysyllabic words; instances of *ōfer, over*, are frequent, and already in the Cura Past. occur forms like *fātu* (plur. of *fāt*), *rāce* (dat. sing. of *racu*), *stāfe* (dat. sing. of *stāf*), *fāre* (3d sing. subj. of *faran*), *ðōne, the, ūpene, gāderað*, etc.

124. The vowels which precede consonant combinations are also frequently lengthened. In this respect there is the widest discrepancy between one text and another.

1) Before nasal + consonant any vowel is subject to lengthening: *hānd, hōnd, hand; lānd, lōnd, land*;

wāmb, wōmb, *womb*; wāng, wōng, *field*; ēnde, *end*; sēndan, *send*; bīndan, *bind*; sīncean, *sink*; stīncean, *smell*; gesūnd, *sound*; būndon, *they bound*; mūnt, *mountain*; stūnta, *blockhead*; drūnceen, *drunken*, etc.

2) Before r + consonant: ārn, ȳrn, *ran*; bāernan, *burn*; īrnān, *run*; cīrm, *uproar*; wōrd, *word*; hōrd, *hoard*; ūrnon, *(they) ran*; wýrd, *destiny*; géard, *house*; éart, *thou art*; scéort, *short*.

3) Before l + consonant: especially ā (for broken ea, 80), as in āld, *old*, sālde, *gave*; but also mīlde, *mild*; gōld, *gold*; geðyld, *patience*; scýld, *guilt*, etc.

NOTE 1. None of the prolongations in 1-3 are to be found either in the Cura Past. or Orosius, if we may judge from the lack of accents (except the isolated ūnder, Cura Past. 33. 7; suíngan, 253 2); but they are abundant in the later WS. texts, like Ælfric's Homilies, etc. They form the rule in the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels, and likewise in the Psalter.

NOTE 2. The prolongations appear earliest and most constantly before nasal or liquid + sonant; yet combinations whose second element is a surd also come under this law, as is evident from the examples adduced above. Prolongation does not seem to be caused by ll in WS, though it has that effect in the Psalter and North.

NOTE 3. At present it is impossible to prove that prolongation is regularly caused in WS. by any other consonant combinations than those already given. But it is not improbable that WS. a in closed syllables was also lengthened before s + consonant in words like assa, axe, asce, wascan (10). So, too, æ as i-umlaut of original ā, as in fæstan, etc. (89. note), points to possible lengthening (as in the Ps, 151); the same may be said of the unbroken a before l + combinations (80; 158).

b) Shortening.

125. The proof of change from long to short quantity is attended with peculiar difficulties, since the failure of a scribe to accent a particular vowel cannot, considering the relative scarcity of accents in general, be

considered as decisive evidence that the vowel has become short. The vowel seems, however, to be short in **dōhte**, **brōhte**, **sōhte**, from **dóhte**, **bróhte**, **sóhte** (407); cf. also **leoh̄t**, *easy*, from ***līht**, ***līht** (83. note 1).

No other consonant combinations, except **h** + consonant, appear to have rendered long vowels short; cf. such forms as **crīst**, **gást**, **mæst**, **gítsian**, **wítnian**, **fíftig**, **lædde**, etc.

II. The Vowels of Medial and Final Syllables.

126. Only such phenomena will here be considered as it is necessary to understand before approaching the subject of inflections. The details will be treated at length under the latter head.

A) Ablaut.

127. *Original ablaut.* Even in the original Indo-European, inflection was often accompanied by a definite variation or gradation in the vowels of certain suffixes. Thus we frequently encounter the ablaut series **e : o : 0**. The first two terms appear, *e.g.*, in Lat. **generis**, **genus** (**e : u**); Gr. **γένεος** for ***γενεστος**, **γένος** (**e : o**), etc.¹ The **e** of the suffix has, as it would seem, always become **i** in Primitive Germ. (45. 2, note). Original **o**, on the other hand, was preserved without change, *i.e.*, did not pass into **a** as in radical syllables (45. 4). In the third or zero stage, a **u** frequently occurs before a liquid or nasal (so, for example, in the ablaut of the verb) as a substitute for the lost vowel.

These gradations are, for the most part, no longer fully preserved in OE.; as a rule, the vowel of one

¹ See Prof. Bloomfield's article, Am. Journal of Philology, I. 281 ff.

stage has been introduced into all the forms of the same word; only now and then do double forms, still preserved by the language, point to the regular interchange which formerly existed. In particular, the *i*-umlaut of a stem sometimes enables us to infer the previous existence of an *e* or *i* in the following syllable.

128. The most important ablaut-changes which have left perceptible traces in OE. are the following:

1) Before original **s** (Germ. **z**, OE. **r**, but often lost when final) in the neut. suffix **-os**, **-es** (as in *γένος*, *genus*), examples of which are given in 288 ff. The *i*-stage is found in forms like **sige**, **bere**, older **sigi**, **béri**, from ***sigiz**, ***bariz** (182): or North. **lēmb**, Ps. North. **cālf**, from ***lambiz**, **kalbiz** (182, 133. b). Parallel with the latter are WS. **lqmb**, **cealf**, without umlaut, and the longer forms like **sigor**, **hrōðor**, **lqm̥bor**, etc. (182. note).

2) Before **n** in the suffix **-ono**, **-eno**, of the past participle of strong verbs. The *i*-stage is preserved in a few umlaut forms like **ægen**, **cymen** (378).

NOTE The gradation was at one time especially apparent in the suffix of the weak declension **-en**, **-on**, (**u**)**n**, but has been almost entirely obliterated in OE., the *i*-stage in particular (as in Goth. **hanins**, **hanin**) being totally effaced.

3) Before **l** in the suffix **-olo**, **-elo**. The two stages are recognizable in double forms like **déagol** and **diegol**, *secret*, from the basic forms ***daugolo-** and ***daugilo-**.

4) Before **r**, more particularly in the suffix of nouns of relationship; for these in detail cf. 285.

129. Secondary ablaut. Besides these older gradations, others of more recent date have sprung up in OE. itself, depending, as nearly as can be ascertained, upon the variable stress of the secondary accent, but also in part

upon the vowels of the adjacent syllables, a certain principle of alternation between palatals and gutturals being apparently observed in the sequence of vowels. In particular, there is a tendency to convert the **o**, **u**, of a final syllable into **e**, whenever the word is increased by a syllable taking the secondary accent, and containing either of the vowels **a**, **o**, or **u**. Thus we generally have **rodor**, *heaven*, **heorot**, *hart*, **staðol**, *pillar*; the gen. dat. sing. **rodores**, **heorotes**, **staðoles**, **rodore**, etc.; while the plur. is usually **roderas**, **heoretas**, **staðelas**, -**u**, -**um**; and the denominative verb from **staðol** is **staðelian**, etc. Here belongs also the vowel-change in the preterit of the second class of weak verbs, like **sealfode**, plur. **sealfedon** (412), and no doubt originally in the abstracts ending in -**ung**, -**ing**, etc.

B) Apocope of Final Vowels.

130. Indo-European (and also Germ.) **a**, **o**, when final, disappears entirely: *e.g.*, **on**, Germ. (Goth.) **ana**, Gr. *ἀνά*; **æf-**, unaccentuated **of**, **of**, Germ. **aba**, Gr. *ἀπό*, etc. In particular, many examples might be adduced of the nom. acc. sing. of the **o**-stems (235 ff.), basic forms **-oz**, **-o(m)**. The **o** has only been retained in case of early contraction, as in **frío**, **fréo**, *free*, st. **frijo-** (297. note 2).

NOTE. The apocope of the **a**, **o**, is not prevented by a **j** which formerly preceded it, since the **j** had no doubt disappeared before apocope took place; hence such nom. acc. as **sæg**, **cyn** (246), whose West Germ. basic forms were ***saggjoz**, ***kunnjo** from Germ. ***sagjoz**, **kunjo(m)**, (*cf.* 45. 8 and 228). But a preceding **i** becomes final by the loss of the **a**, **o**, and subsequently passes into **e** (44): **ende**, **ríce** (246), older **endl**, **ríel**, from ***andio**, ***ríelo** (45. 8).

131. The originally final **-e** also disappears completely, and without leaving any trace of its influence upon the vowel of the preceding syllable. The chief instances are:

1) the vocative sing. masc. of the **o**-stems, **dóm** (238), cf. Gr. *λόγε*;

2) the imperative sing. of strong verbs, like **ber** (367), cf. Gr. *φέρε*;

3) the 3d sing. pret. of strong verbs, like **bær** (367), **wát** (420), cf. Gr. *οἴδε*.

e before any consonant that was retained in Germanic was changed, probably in the Germ. period, to **i** (45. 2, note), and its subsequent history is that of the latter sound.

132. Original **i** and **u** were uniformly preserved in Primitive OE. To these were added a secondary **i** and **u**, arising partly through a change of quality (such as that which led to the development of **i** from **e** before consonants, 131), and in part produced by a shortening of the final long vowels, **i**, **ö**. These various **i**'s and **ü**'s of Primitive OE. were all subject to the same rules of syncopation, irrespective of their origin, syncope being determined partly by the quantity of the radical syllable (when the word was originally dissyllabic) and partly by the number of syllables contained in the word. The cases may be classified as follows:

133. Primitive OE. **i** is preserved after a short radical syllable, first as **i**, and afterwards as **e** (44); it disappears after a long radical syllable, and as the final of polysyllables.

a) Original **i**, e.g. in the nom. acc. sing. of the **i**-stems (cf. Gr. *πόλις*, *-ιν*): of short stems, the noun **wini**, **wine** (262), adj. **bryci**, **bryce** (302); of long stems, the noun **wyrm** (266). Other cases of apocope are: the dat. loc. sing. of consonant stems, like **fét**, from ***fóti** (281; cf.

Gr. *ποδι*); among polysyllables **hróðor** (289), **guman**, **heortan**, **tungan** (276); datives plur. like **ðæm**, **twæm**, basic forms ***paimiz**, etc.; comparative adverbs like **leng** (323), basic form ***langiz** (cf. Lat. **magis**, and for the loss of the **z** see 182). Of the verbs: the 1st sing. ind. of the verbs in -**mi** (426), **eom**, **am**, **dóm**, **do**; and the 2d and 3d sing. and 3d plur. ind. of all verbs, as, for example, 2d sing. **hilpis**, -**es(t)**, 3d sing. **hilp(e)ð**, 3d plur. **helpað**, their basic forms ending in -**izi**, -**iði**, -**qnði** (cf. Skr. **bhárasí**, -**ati**, -**anti**, from **√bher**, *bear*).

b) Primitive OE. **i** from original **e**, e.g. in the nom. plur. of consonant stems, like **fét**, **mýs** (281), from ***fótiz**, ***fótez**, etc. (cf. Gr. *πόδες*); so also in the polysyllables **guman**, **tungan** (276), no instances of short monosyllabic stems being recorded. Finally, in the nom. acc. sing. of the neuter **es**-stems: short stems, **bere**, **sige** (Goth. **bariz-**, **sigis**); long stems, Ps. North. **cälf**, *calf*, North. **lëmb**, *lamb*, etc. (288 ff.).

c) Primitive OE. **i** from original **ī** no doubt existed in the imp. sing. of verbs with thematic **jo** (372; 398. 1; cf. Goth. **hafei**, **nasei**, **sókei**, etc.): with short stem, **hēfe**, **nēre**, etc. (367; 408); with long stem, **séec**, **hier**, etc. (408). The **i** has regularly disappeared in the nom. sing. of the long **a**-stems, like **bend** (257). Every other final Germanic **i** is preserved in OE., even after a long syllable, in the form of **i**, **e**: thus, for example, in the 3d sing. pret. opt. of strong verbs like **hulpe** (basic form ***hulpi**, Goth. **hulpi**); or in the instr. loc. sing. of the **o**-stems like **dóme**, older **dómi** (from ***dómī**, cf. Gr. **ἐκεῖ**). Yet, in the so-called dative **hám** (237. note 2), we perhaps have the regularly developed local case of a long **o**-stem, the **-i**, **-e** of the other forms being then due to analogy of the short stems.

NOTE 1. Exceptions to the rules for syncope are presented by the adverb **bet**, *better* (Goth. *batis*), for which we should expect ***bete**; and by the adverb **ymbe** (also **ymb**), with the **e** preserved.

NOTE 2. Even when the **i** is lost, there is i-umlaut of the stem-syllable which immediately preceded. The only exceptions are the verbal forms **eom**, **dóm**, pl. **dóð** (for ***dónðl**).

134. Primitive OE. **u** is retained in dissyllabic words after a short stem, as **-u**, **-o**, but disappears after a long stem.

a) Germ. **u**, *e.g.* in the nom. acc. sing. of the **u**-stems: in the short-stemmed nouns, masc. **sunu**, fem. **duru**, neut. **feolu** (270; 274 ff.), adj. **eucu** (303); in the long-stemmed nouns, masc. **feld**, fem. **hond** (272; 274), adj. **heard** (303. note). Of all these the basic forms end in **-uz**, **-u(m)**; cf. Goth. **sunus**, **-u**, **filu**, etc.

b) Primitive OE. **u** from Germ. **ö**, when the latter is equivalent to original **ā**, *e.g.* in the nom. sing. fem. of the **ā**-stems: thus in the short-stemmed **giefu**, adj. **hwatu**, in the long-stemmed **ár**, **gód** (252; 293; cf. Gr. $\chi\omega\rho\bar{a}$, etc.); or in the nom. acc. plur. neut. of the **o**-stems, as in the short-stemmed noun **fatu**, adj. **hwatu**, the long-syllabled noun **word**, adj. **gód** (238; 293).

c) Primitive OE. **u** from Germ. **ö**, when the latter is equivalent to original **ö**, appeared in the 1st sing. pres. ind. of the verb, and there became permanent, even after long stems: thus **beoru**, **faru**, but also **helpu**, **bindu**. This **u** has, however, been almost completely displaced in West Saxon by the optative termination **-e** (356).

NOTE. The **j** which originally preceded (45.8) does not prevent the apocope (cf. 128. note); hence **sibb** (257), **cynn** (246), etc., from ***sibb(j)u**, ***cynn(j)u**. For the effect of a preceding **j** (45.8) see 135. 2, 3.

135. In trisyllabic and polysyllabic words, the treatment of the final **u** is variable. It is sometimes cast off,

as in **firen**, from ***firinu**, Goth. **fairina**; or **tigol**, from Lat. **tegula**, etc. On the contrary, it is often preserved in the following cases:

1) In abstract nouns with the termination **-ðu**, Goth. **-iþa**, like **strængðu** (255. 3); rarely in other fem. nouns like **ielfetu** (255. note 3).

2) In the nom. acc. plur. of some neuters, like **nſetenu** (243. 1; cf. also 144. b); and always in stems ending in **-io** (45. 8), like **ríeu**, from ***ríciu**, basic form ***ríkio** (246).

3) In the nom. sing. fem. and nom. acc. plur. neut. of adjectives, when these forms are trisyllabic, as in **mɔnigu**, **háligu** (293. 3; cf. 144. b); particularly, again, when the stems end in **-io**, as **grénu** (298), from ***gróniu**.

136. The vowels of other final syllables than those already instanced do not undergo apocope in OE. In particular, all vowels are retained which are still protected in OE. by a final consonant, e.g., the **u**, **o** in the 3d plur. pret. of verbs like **hulpun**, **n̄eredun**, **-on** (364).

C) Further Changes of Final Sounds in Consequence of Apocope.

137. When **w** becomes final after consonants and short vowels, it is vocalized to **u**, **o**; after long vowels and diphthongs it either remains unchanged or is lost altogether. For details see 174.

138. If a mute followed by a liquid or nasal becomes final, the liquid or nasal falls under the operation of a universal phonetic law, according to which it assumes vocalic character; that is, acquires the power, peculiar to the vowels, of forming a syllable. This applies, for example, to the **r**, **l**, **n**, **m** in Goth. **akrs**, **fugls**, **taikns**, **maiþms** (Braune, Goth. Gr. 27). In OE. these vocalic

liquids and nasals often generate before them an auxiliary vowel. Thus the Gothic forms already cited become in OE. **aecer**, **fugol**, **tácen**, **máðum**. The following are the special rules which apply to these phenomena :

139. Such an auxiliary vowel occurs with most frequency before **r**. The vowel is regularly **e** when the preceding syllable contains a palatal vowel, but is generally **o** in the oldest texts, and in the dialects **u**; less frequently, and usually in the later documents, **e**, when the preceding vowel is guttural; e.g., **winter**, **finger**, **fæger**, **aecer**, **ceaster** (from *cæster, 75.1), but **átor**, **fóðor**, **hlúttor**, **clústor**; cf. Goth. **wintrus**, **figgrs**, **fagrs**, etc.

NOTE. Only in the oldest texts, like the Epinal Ms., does the **r** often remain unchanged: **átr**, **spaldr**, **cefr**, along with **Iedlr**, **mapuldur**, etc.

140. Vocalic **l** often remains unchanged, especially after dentals: **nædl**, *needle*; **spatl**, *spittle*; **setl**, *settle*; **húsl**, *housel*; **eaxl**, *shoulder*; **naegl**, *nail*, etc.; yet **e** is sometimes found after a palatal vowel, as well as **u**, **o** after a guttural, the law for their occurrence having not yet been discovered: **aeppl**, *apple*; **tempel**, *temple*; **fugol**, *fowl*, etc.

141. Vocalic **n** usually remains unchanged after a short syllable: **hraefn**, *raven*; **stefn**, *voice*; **regn**, *rain*; **ðegn**, *thane*; **wægn**, *wain*, though **-en** is sometimes found. After a long syllable **-en** predominates, e.g. in **tácen**, *token*; **béacen**, *beacon*; **waépen**, *weapon*. Still more rare is **-in**, as in **frægin**, **ðegin**. After a guttural vowel **o** is even found, as in **tácon** (Beda 365).

142. Vocalic **m** usually remains without change: **ðrosm**, *vapor*; **bósm**, *bosom*; **fæðm**, *embrace*; **botm**,

bottom; **wæstm**, *growth*; yet **wæstem**, etc., are found, and **máðum**, *jewel*, is the usual form.

D) Syncope of Middle Vowels.

143. By middle vowels we understand the vowels of those syllables which lie between the stem and the final syllable of polysyllabic words.

The middle vowels of Germanic are frequently syncopated in OE. Their retention or elision depends, however (like the treatment of original final vowels), in part on the quantity of the preceding radical syllable, in part on the number of middle vowels which the word originally contained.

144. a) Every middle vowel of a trisyllabic word, when originally short, and not rendered long by position, is syncopated after a long radical syllable; after a short radical syllable this syncopation does not take place: cf. forms like gen. **éðles**, **éngles**, **déofles**, **óðres**, **éowres**, **ágnes**, **héafdes**, from **éðel**, **éngel**, **déofol**, **óðer**, **éower**, **ágen**, **héafod**, with such as **staðoles**, **rodores**, **eotones**, **nacodes**, etc.

b) In the oldest texts the trisyllabic forms of the nom. sing. fem. and nom. acc. plur. neut. are exempt from the operation of syncope: thus adj. **fðelu**, **éoweru** (293. 3), subst. **wolcenu**, **nþetenu**, **héafodu** (243. 1), along with **fðle**, **éowre**, **wolcna**, **héafdes**, etc. This rule does not apply, however, to the feminines ending in **-ðu** (255. 3), which come under the principle laid down in a.

c) Notwithstanding the short radical syllable, the following words regularly exhibit syncope: **yfel**, *evil*; **lytel**, *little*; **micel**, *mickle*, gen. **yfles**, **lytles**, **micles**; but **yfelu**, **lytelu**, **micelu**, in accordance with b.

NOTE 1. This older principle of syncopation is often violated in later documents through the influence of analogy. Hence middle vowels after a long radical syllable are frequently restored, in imitation of the dissyllabic forms of the same word: thus *éðeles*, *déofoles*, to agree with the nominatives *éðel*, *déofol*, etc. Especially is this the case in the past part. of strong verbs (*gebundne*, *geholpne*, later -ene) and the adjectives terminating in -ig (*háliges*, etc., for older *hálgæs*). More rarely do short stems conform to the example of the long; the exceptions are chiefly found among the adjectives (293. 1) in the r-cases (*hwætre*, gen. dat. sing. fem.; *hwætra*, gen. plur.), in the acc. sing. masc. (*hwætne*), and usually in the comparative (*glædra*, *hwætra*, etc., 307).

NOTE 2. Where mute + liquid or nasal precedes the middle vowel, there is considerable irregularity as regards syncopation: *efnde* and *efnede*, etc.; see in particular 405. 7.

145. A vowel long by position is usually protected against the operation of syncope. So, for example, adjectives in -isc, like *mennisc*, together with their derivatives, remain unchanged even in their trisyllabic forms; the majority of superlatives, like *ieldesta*, 309 ff. (but always *hſehsta*, *nſehsta*); substantives like *hærfest*, *cornest*; all with liquid or nasal + consonant, like *færeld*, *fætels*; together with all those in which the middle vowel is followed by a geminated consonant, e.g., forms like *cqndelle*, *byrðenne* (258), and the derivatives in -ettan, like *roccettan*, etc. (403. note 3), even when the tt is simplified.

146. Middle vowels which were originally long are sometimes syncopated in an open syllable, when preceded by a long radical syllable; in such cases the vowel had probably become short in Primitive OE. Here belong the adjectives in -ig from -ig, the adjectives denoting material in -en from -in (296), besides the gen. plur. of weak nouns ending in -na or -ena (276. note 1).

147. When the same word contained two middle vowels, that is, was originally tetrasyllabic, the second is always syncopated without regard to the quantity of the radical syllable, provided it was originally short, and has not been rendered long by position ; such are accusatives like **fidelne**, **d̄fegolne**; **eatolne**, **swicolne**; **éowerne**, **uncerne**; **fægerne**; **ágenne**, **háligne**, etc. ; or gen. dat. sing. fem. and gen. plur. like **fidelre**, **-ra**; **swicolre**, **-ra**, etc.

148. Under this head must also be included the treatment of words which have developed auxiliary vowels according to **138 ff.** If the radical syllable is long, this auxiliary vowel is lost when a termination is added ; thus we have **wintres**, **fingres**, **temples**, **tácn̄es**, **máðmes**, but **winter**, **finger**, **tempel**, **tácen**, **máðum**. After a short radical syllable the vowel occurs more frequently, at least before **r**; e.g., **fæger**, **weder**, **waeter**, have usually gen. **fægeres**, **wederes**, **waeteres**, etc., though the older forms, such as **wætres**, do now and then occur.

149. Thę elision of a vowel often takes place in OE. in syllables which have become final by the loss of an original vowel termination. Especially important in this connection are the rules for the 2d and 3d sing. pres. ind. of verbs, for which see **359**.

C. *The Chief Dialectal Variations.*

150. The vowel scheme of the OE. dialects, exclusive of West Saxon, exhibits the following general peculiarities :

1) In place of the West Saxon **æ** = Germ. **ē**, West Germ. **ā** (**57 ff.**), stands the vowel **ē**: **strét**, **réd**, **slépan**; with **i**-umlaut **mérstan**, etc.

2) The WS. **ie**, **fe** (41) is wanting, and hence the same is true of the unstable **i**, **y** (22; 31); what equivalents represent them will be shown in the course of the following paragraphs.

3) The sounds **ea**, **eo** (**io**), as well as their corresponding long diphthongs, are not so accurately discriminated as in WS. In Northumbrian especially there is great confusion between **ea** and **eo** (but cf. 160. 3): **eordian**, **beorn**, for **eardian**, **bearn**, and **earðe**, **earre**, for **eorðe**, **eorre**, etc. Kentish has a preference for **ia** and **io**, the former standing as well for WS. **ea** as for **eo**.

4) The sound **œ** is of more extensive occurrence. Northumbrian has it throughout (even where it is short, **œle**, **dœhter**, **œxen**, 93); the long sound at least occurs in the Psalter: **dœman**, **bœc**, **spœd** (27; 94), while Rushworth varies between **é** and **œ**.

a, æ.

151. 1) For WS. **æ** (49) Kent. and Ps. have **e**: **deg**, **brec**, **set**, etc. In the Kentish glosses the long **æ**-sound is also uniformly represented by **é**, even when the former is derived from **ai**: **délan**, **énig**, **mést** = WS. Ps. North. **dælan**, **æníg**, **máest**.

NOTE. It is probable that the **æ** of the Ps. always denotes the long vowel. It is always, as in WS., the **i**-umlaut of Prim. OE. **ā** from **ai** (90); or prolongation of **æ**, as in **ðæt**, **hwæt** (122); or **i**-umlaut of lengthened **ā**, as in **āldra**, **hāldran** (159. 2), **nāht**, **nāhtig** (162); or palatal umlaut of **ea**, as in **gesēh**, **dāgas**, etc.

2) For WS. **a** in an open syllable (50) the Ps. and North. often have the **ea** resulting from **u**- and **o**-umlaut (160).

3) There is no breaking of **a** to **ea** before **l** + consonant in the Psalter and North., and only traces of it in

Mercian. The same is also true before **r** + consonant in North. and Mercian. The place of **ea** is occupied by lengthened **ā** (158).

e, ē.

152. The occurrence of the older **e** (19. 1) is limited by the more frequent **u-** and **o-umlaut** in the Ps. and North. (160); the **e**, which in the other dialects is umlaut of **o**, is wanting in North. (93; 150. 4). In its stead occurs an **e** which, on the whole, is foreign to WS.:

- a) for WS. **ie** from palatal + **e** (157. 2);
- b) for WS. **ie** when **i-umlaut** of **ea** (159); for **æ** as a substitute for this **e**, see 159. 2;
- c) as palatal umlaut of **eo** (164).

153. Long **ē** corresponds to WS. **ē** only in the cases contained under 21. 1, 3 (but occasionally in Merc. to the **ē** described in 21. 2). It is likewise

- a) the representative of WS. **æ** from Germ. **ē** (150. 1);
- b) the representative of WS. **æ** from **ai** (151. a);
- c) **i-umlaut** of **ēa** (159. 3);
- d) palatal umlaut of **ēa** (163) and **ēo** (165).

y, ÿ.

154. A distinctive characteristic of Kentish is the substitution of **e**, **ē**, for **y**, **ÿ**: **embe**, **desig**, **eppan**, **gelden**, **onténan**, **brécð**, for WS. **ymbe**, **dysig**, **yppan**, **gylden**, **ontýnan**, **brýcð**.

NOTE. Contrariwise, Kent. **y**, **ÿ**, takes the place of **e**, **ē**: **cyrran**, **mýgð**, **lýce**, **lýssa**, for **cerran**, **méggð**, **lécc**, **léssa** (151. 1), WS. **clerran**, **mággð**, **lécc**, **léssa**.

Diphthongs.

155. With regard to the diphthongs of the dialects, the following facts remain to be noted in addition to the statement made in **150. 3**:

- 1) The lack of an i-umlaut of eo, éo (**159. 4**).
- 2) The regular transformation of eo, éo by palatal umlaut in Ps. and North. (**161. ff.**).
- 3) Northumbrian also possesses the diphthong ei : seista, *sixth*; neista, *next*; heista, *highest* (also sesta, nésta, hésta); ceiga, *call*, etc., and exhibits ai for æ : fraigna, cnaihtas, for frægna, cnæhtas.

NOTE. For Kent. diphthongs whose second element is -i from -g, see **214. 2**.

Influence of w (71-73).

156. 1) In the North. dialect w often changes a following e, and even at times an æ, into œ; and in like manner an é into áe :

- a) older e: woeg, swoefn, woel = WS. weg, swefn, wel;
- b) umlaut e (or é): cuoellan, tuoelf, woendan = WS. cwéllan, tuélf, wéndan;
- c) é (= WS. æ, **150. 1**): huoer, woede, woopen = WS. hwáer, wáede, wáepen; lengthened e in woe = WS. wé;
- d) æ in cwoeð, hwoeðre = WS. cwæð, hwæðre.
- 2) weo usually becomes North. wo : worða, worðia, worð, worpa, sword = WS. weorðan, weorðian, weorð, weorpan, sweord; but likewise cwoða, wosa = WS. cweðan, wesan, from *cweoðan, *weosan (**160**).
- 3) In a similar manner wea (**160. 3**) often becomes wa in North., but sometimes wæ : waras, wæras, pl. of wær, man, WS. weras, Ps. weoras; wala, wæla, riches,

WS. Kent. Ps. **weola**; probably also **tua** (beside **tuia**), *doubt*.

4) The development of **u**, **o**, before **w** after a short vowel, does not usually take place in the Ps. and North.; cf. the inflection of **tréo**, **cnéo**, etc. (250).

Influence of a Preceding Palatal (74–76).

157. 1) **u** is not changed in the Ps.: thus (**g**)**iung**, (**g**)**iuguð**, not **geong**, **geoguð**; North. **giung** and **ging**, **gigoð** (cf. also **gind** and **geond**). Contrariwise, Kent. North. **geoc**, **gioc** remains, and in North. **géomrian**, as opposed to the **géamrian** of the Ps.

2) **e**, **ɛ**, are not diphthongized: **get**, **geldan**, **gelp**, **sceld** = WS. **giet**, **gieldan**, etc. (for **geofan**, **geotan**, North. **geona** = WS. **giefan**, **gietan**, **gíena**, see 160); **gér**, **géfon**, **géton**, **scép** (North. also **scíp**) = WS. **gér**, **géafon**, etc., according to 150. 1.

3) There is likewise no change of **e** (= WS. **æ**) to **ea** in Kentish and Ps.: **gef**, **get**, **cester**, **seel**, **scet** = WS. **geaf**, **ceaster**, etc. In North. **ea** appears somewhat irregularly: **geaf**, **ceaster**, **sceal**, beside **gæt**, **scæl**, etc.

4) Unknown to the other dialects is the diphthongization in North. **geqnga**, **go** (for **gongan**). Before guttural vowels **e** likewise follows **sc** more frequently in North. than in the other dialects: **scéadan**, **sceqmu**, etc.

The Breakings (77–84).

158. 1) Instead of **ea** before a consonant, North. and Merc. frequently have **ā**: **ārm**, **wārp**, **wārð**, for and beside **earm**, etc.

2) The breaking of **a** to **ea** before **l + consonant** is unknown in the Psalter and North. (but not in Kentish),

being replaced by ā: *āll*, *fāllan*, *hāldan*, *sālt*; an exception is North. **sealla** = WS. **siellan** (80. note 2). Rushworth¹ varies between ā and ea. For the umlaut forms ē and æ see 159.

3) Every breaking before h, as well as before a consonant combination whose second element is a palatal (g, e, h), is transformed in Ps. and North. Merc. by palatal umlaut (161).

The Umlauts (85–109).

159. I-umlaut. The i-umlauts of the diphthongs exhibit the widest variations from the West Saxon forms:

1) i-umlaut of ea before r is without exception ē: *ērfe*, *dērne*, *ērmðu*, *fērd* = WS. *ierfe* (*irfe*, *yrfe*), etc.; so also *scēppan*, *gēst* = WS. *scieppan*, *giest* (Kent. Gl. have an exceptional *hlihan*).

2) As WS. ea before l is represented in Ps. and North. by ā (158. 2), the umlaut of the latter is not e, but æ: *āldu*, *āldra*, *māltan*; similarly before ll: *wālle* beside *welle*, *well* (WS. *wiella*). Here also Kentish has e: *ēldu*, *ēldra*, *fēlð* (from *feallan*).

3) i-umlaut of éa is é: *héran*, *geléfan*, *néd*, *lég*, *cégan*, etc. However, Rushworth and Kent. Gl. have sometimes ý: *cýpan*, etc., but Kent. Gl. *áflígan*.

4) io, eo is always free from umlaut: *corre*, *heorde* (but *áfirran*); so also *fo*, *éo*: *tréowe*, *ðeostru*, *stréonan* (but Ps. *onsfen*, *countenance*).

5) For the umlauts of ea, eo before palatals see 161.

160. U- and o-umlaut are often preserved, where they have been lost in WS. (e.g., in forms like North. *ionna*, *within*; *ionnað*, *viscera*; *bihionda*, *bihienda*, *behind*).

In particular,

1) the interchange of umlauted and primary vowels is often retained in inflectional forms; cf. Ps. **fet**, plur. **featu**, dat. **featum**; **get**, gen. plur. **geata**; or, in the verb, **beoru**, **bires**, **bireð**, **beorað**; so in North. (370);

2) the o-umlaut extends also to the older a in the Ps. (but not in Kent. North.); cf. **get**, gen. plur. **geata**; **fearan**, **hleaðan** (**galan** is an exception); verbs of the 2d wk. conjugation, like **gleadian**, **geðeafian**, etc.

3) The North. form of the o-umlaut of e is **ea**: **beara**, *bear*; **eata**, *eat*; **weala**, *riches*; **wearas**, *men*, etc. (hence forms like **wala**, **waras**, 156. 3); more rarely **eo**: **eota**, etc.

NOTE 1. These umlauts are most faithfully preserved in the Ps.; in North. there has been much levelling under the inflectional forms without umlaut.

NOTE 2. As there is no o-umlaut of a either in North. or WS. (**fara**, **hlaða**, **geðafia**, etc.), **geadria** and **sceaca** are to be referred to 157. 3.

161. Palatal umlaut. The development of this umlaut forms one of the most noticeable characteristics of the Ps. and North. Its chief effects are as follows:

162. 1) In the Ps. and North., and for the most part in Rush.¹, ea becomes æ (in the Ps. ē, 151. note) before h, ht, x (= hs, 221. 2): **gesæh**, **geðæht**, **mæhte**, **sæx**, **wæx**, **wæxan** = WS. **geseah**, **geðeaht**, etc. Usually also in the Ps. before g and c, where the North. has a: Ps. **mægun**, **dægas**, **cwæcian**, **dræca** (together with isolated forms like **dagum**, **sagas**, **draca**, **hracan** and **hreacan**, Zeuner, p. 34 ff.), for ***meagun**, ***deagas**, etc. (160), North. **magun**; for **dagas**, **cwacian**, etc., cf. 160. 2. Rush.¹ has here and there ea, as in **geseah**.

i-umlaut of this æ does not occur: **mæht**, gen. dat. **mæhte**, adj. **mæhtig**, **næht**, etc.

NOTE 1. The Kentish monuments usually have **ea** before **h**, and **a** before **g**, **c**; i-umlaut in **hlíhan**, Kent. Gl.

NOTE 2. Forms like the preterits **ræhte**, **wæhte**, **for** and beside **ræhte**, **wæhte**, WS. **reahte**, **weahte**, etc., are due to the analogy of **é** in the preterits **ræccan**, **wæccan**, etc. (407. b). So also imperatives like North. **sláh**, **ðwáh** (374), are assimilated to the contract forms of the present, **slá**, **ðwá**.

2) Before **rc**, **rg** the Ps. has **e** for **ea**, while North. has either **e** or **æ**: **erc**, *ark*; **berg**, *swine*; **herg**, *grove*; WS. **earc**, **bearg**, etc. (North. also **aerc**, etc.).

163. In the Ps. North. and Merc., **éa** becomes **é** before **h**, **g**, **c**: **héh**, **néh**; pret. **téh**, **bég**, **léc**; **bécon**, *beacon* = WS. **héah**, etc. Kentish, on the other hand, has retained the **éa** (yet we meet in the Kent. Gl. with **nfh** = WS. **néah**).

164. 1) In the Ps. and North., **eo** becomes **e** before **h** and **rc**, **rg**, **rh**: **feh**, the imper. **geseh**, **reht**, **cneht** (83), **leht**, *light* (64); **werc**, **bergan**, **ðwerh**, **berht** = WS. and Rush.¹ **feoh**, **geseoh**, etc. (but Rush.¹ **reht**, **cneht**, **werc**, etc.). The i-umlaut of this **e** is (likewise in Merc.) **i:** **rihtan**, **lihtan** (*illuminate*), **birhtan**, Ps. and Merc. **wirecan** (North. **wyrea**, 407).

2) Before **c** and **g** there is fluctuation: **ærendreca**, **wegas**, along with rare **weogas**, Ps.; on the other hand, regularly **steogun** and **spreocan**, **breocan**, etc., along with **sprecan**, which is rare. North. only **breca**, **spreca**, **wegas**, etc.

165. In the Ps. and North. **eo** becomes **é** before **h**, (**e**), **g**: **téh**, **fleh** imp., **flégan**, **flége**, **fly**, **légan** = WS. and

Rush.¹ téoh, fléoh, etc. Ep. and Kent. Gl. have preserved the eo, io intact.

NOTE. We may perhaps detect traces of i as i-umlaut in Ps. tifð, draws, Lind. and Kent. Gl. fífð, from *téhið, *fléhið, yet we have also Ps. flígu, lígende, North. líht, *easy* and *light*, apparently without umlaut.

Contractions (110–119).

166. 1) West Germ. a + o (= later a) results in North. á: slá(n), ówá(n) = WS. Kent. Merc. sléan, ówéan; but a + u gives éa as in WS.; thus éa, téar, from *ahu, *tahur.

2) West Germ. e + a (from o) usually becomes éa in the Ps. and North.: geséan, geféan. So likewise e, é from eo, éo before h: féas, plur. of feh, Lind., fléan, flee, téan, draw, from *fehas, *fléhan, *téhan (164 ff.); but pres. participle fléonde, Ps., 1st sing. fléom, from *fléhu(m).

3) West Germ. i + a (from o) gives éa in Ps.: fréa, free, beside fréo; North. frío, fréo. On the other hand, the pres. part. fríond, fréond, uniformly has fo, éo.

4) West Germ. i + a (from o) generally remains ía (perhaps in some cases still uncontracted and dissyllabic): bían, bees (but bíobread), fían, hate (pret. ffode, according to the 2d weak conjugation), but also wréan, Ps.; North. bía, fía, wría.

5) Especially to be noticed are the contractions which take place in the Ps. and North. after the loss of a medial h, in cases where WS. and Kent. retain the h and syncopate the vowel (222). This takes place more particularly in the inflection of contract verbs (374), e.g., sifst, sið, from *sihist, *sihið = WS. siehst, siehð; cf. also forms like Ps. héane, the acc. sing. masc. of héh,

from *hēhona, North. héanis, *height*, from *hēhonis, equivalent to WS. héanne, héannis, from héahne, héahnis (222. 2); finally, comp. héra, sup. hésta, nésta (North. also heista, neista), from *hēhira, *hēhista, etc., WS. híerra (from híehra, 222. 2), híehsta, níehsta.

Quantity (120-125).

168. Almost all the cases of prolongation observed in WS. occur also in the other dialects. The prolongations before liquid or nasal + consonant are least open to question, since the proof of length is derived not only from the use of accents, but also from the influence exerted upon the quality of the vowel; cf. in particular the æ as i-umlaut of a before l + consonant (159. 2), or as palatal umlaut of ea (162).

PART II.—THE CONSONANTS.



Survey of the Old English Consonants.

169. The consonant-signs of OE. are those of the Latin alphabet, with the addition of the letters **ȝ** and **p**, and of a special character for **w**. Many of these letters are, however, employed with a twofold value, as the number of characters was not sufficient to express with accuracy the distinctions current in the spoken language. The inexactness here noted is probably to be referred to the lack of uniformity in the pronunciation of the Latin letters.

170. The following table contains the OE. consonants, arranged according to their phonetic relations:

		LABIALS.	DENTALS.	PALATALS.	GUTTURALS.
SONOROUS CONSONANTS	Semi-vowels	w	—	g' (i)	—
	Liquids	—	r, l	—	—
	Nasals	m	n	n'	n
NON- SONOROUS CONSONANTS	Stops . .	{ Surd . .	p	t	c'
		{ Sonant.	b	d	g'
	Spirants . .	{ Surd . .	f	ȝ (þ) s	h'
		{ Sonant.	f(u, b)	ȝ (þ)	g'

Accordingly, a double or triple pronunciation of the following letters is here assumed:

- 1) of **f**, **ȝ**, **þ**, as surd and as sonant spirant;
- 2) of **b**, as sonant stop and sonant spirant;
- 3) of **g**, as semi-vowel, sonant stop, and sonant spirant;
- 4) of **n**, as dental, palatal, and guttural nasal;

5) of all the letters standing for the so-called gutturals, these having also a palatal pronunciation; such palatal pronunciation is indicated above by the addition of ' to the usual letter.

A. SONOROUS CONSONANTS.

1) *The Semi-vowels.*

w.

171. w, here substituted for the Runic character wén, the usual symbol employed in the manuscripts, represents the sound of English w; or, in other words, w is a u discharging the function of a consonant.

NOTE 1. In the oldest texts the wén is not yet employed, uu being generally used to denote the sound in question: uuer, ueg, urot, clauue, suualuuue, etc.; sometimes simple u, the latter being especially common in North.: uer, ueg, salue; otherwise the employment of u for w is chiefly limited to the combinations described in 172. 3. At times we even find wu, like North. wurlotto for wrloto, etc.

NOTE 2. German editors and grammarians often follow the example of Grimm in representing the Runic sign wén by v. This is objectionable, because it thus becomes impossible to discriminate between w and the labio-dental spirant v (194).

172. w occurs initially

- 1) before all vowels: wát, wot; wer, man; wine, friend; word, word; wund, wound; wyrd, fate;
- 2) in the combinations wr, wl: wrftan, write; wrót, elephant's trunk; wlftan, see; wlqnc, proud, etc.;
- 3) in the combinations cw, hw, dw, ðw, tw, sw: cweðan, say; hwá, who; dweorg, dwarf; ðwéan, wash; twá, two; swefan, sleep.

NOTE. The loss of an initial w occurs in the negative forms of some verbs: nát, nytan, nysse (420. 1), nyllan (428. note 2), næs, náeron (427. 3); otherwise only occasionally before u, in utton, for and beside

the interjection **wuton**; **cucu**, **náuht**, **betuh**, **betux**, from **ewucu**, **náwuht**, **betwuh**, **betwux** (71); **ealneg**, **ealnig**, from **ealne weg**; finally, in **hú**, *how*, **tú**, *two* (324. 2), from ***hw6**, ***tw6**. In North. also before **œ**: **œg**, *coern*, for **woeg**, *way*, **cuoern**, *quern*.

173. Medially, **w** holds its place before all vowels except **u** without change: **sáwan**, **sáwe**, **spiwian**, **spiwode**. It disappears before **u**, and thus frequently gives rise to contractions, as in **éa**, **ðréa**, **cléa**, etc. (111 ff.), or **réon** from **réowun** (396). However, **w** is sometimes restored before **u**, following the analogy of other forms, as in **cláwu**, **súwu**, *sow*, **sáwun**, **réowun**, **réowun**, etc.

NOTE 1. Ecthlipsis of **w** in the weak verbs whose stems end in **rw** (405. 5) appears to belong not to OE. in particular, but to Primitive Germanic. For **æ**, **sæ**, etc., cf. 174. 3.

NOTE 2. Conversely, **w** is sometimes inserted to prevent the hiatus which would otherwise result between **u** and a following inflectional vowel: **rúh**, gen. **rúwes** (for **rú-es**, 295. note 1).

174. **w** is originally not allowed to stand as the final of a syllable.

1) After a short vowel it is vocalized, and contraction then supervenes: cf. nom. **ðéo**, **cnéo**, from ***ðe-u**, ***cne-u**, for ***ðewo**, ***cnewo** (according to 113; 130; cf. also 73); but **ðéow**, **cnéow** also occur, being formed upon the analogy of the inflected forms which have medial **w**.

2) After consonants it is vocalized to **u** (**o**). The latter always remains as the final of a word: cf. the nom. acc. sing. of **wo-** and **wá-**stems, like **bearu**, **searu**, **beadu** (249; 259), and the adj. **gearu** (300). Likewise in the declension and comparison of adjectives: cf. acc. **gearone**, gen. dat. sing. fem. **gearore**, gen. plur. **gearora** (300), comp. **gearora** (307), for ***gearwne**, etc. Analogy often leads to the restoration of the **w** in a medial position:

cf. preterits like **hierwde**, **sierwde**, from **hierwan**, **sierwan** (405. 5); derivatives like **nierwð** (255. 3), based upon **nearo**, **nearwes**, etc.

3) After long vowels and diphthongs there seems to be a total disappearance of the **w**: **á**, **ó**, **aye** (Goth. **aiw**); **hrá**, **hræ**, *corpse* (Goth. **hraiw**); **sná**, *snow* (Goth. **snaiws**); **æ**, *law*; **sé**, *sea* (Goth. **saiws**). Not infrequently, however, the **w** of the other forms is introduced: **hráw** (**hræw**), **æw**, **snáw**; this takes place almost invariably after diphthongs, as in **gléaw** (63), **hréow** (64), and in the interior of a word when there is syncope of a middle vowel, as in **sáwle** (likewise **sáule**), from **sáwol**, *soul*; **méowle** (Goth. **mawilō**, 73. note 1); in derivatives like **hréowsian**, *rue*, from ***hreuwisón**; especially in inflected forms, as in **spéwð**, **cnæwð**, from **spówan**, **cnáwan**; **læwde** from **læwan**, etc.

NOTE 1. Under these circumstances the manuscripts often substitute **u** for **w**: **sáule**, **snáu**; more rarely after diphthongs, as in **latéau**, **hríou** of the Kent. Gl. = WS. **-téow**, **-hríow**.

NOTE 2. In **æ**, **sé**, the contracted form of the nom. acc. sing. has become the norm for the whole declension.

NOTE 3 (on 171-174). For the effect of **w** upon neighboring sounds see 71-73; 156.

NOTE 4. For **f** instead of final **w** see 192. note 4.

j.

175. The manuscripts have no sign appropriated to the semi-vowel **j** (*i.e.*, **i** when consonantal in function), but denote it now by the vowel sign **i** and now by **g**.

1) **i** occupies the initial position in foreign words like **Iohannes**, **Iudeas**; in genuine OE. words it occurs rarely, and almost exclusively before **u**: **iú**, **iung** (74). As a medial it is more common: **héries**, **nérian**, etc.,

though in such instances the **i** is perhaps to be regarded as vocalic, or as standing for **ij**: **hē-ri-es**, or **hē-ri-jes** (cf. 2, below).

NOTE. The **i** of the 2d class of weak verbs (411 ff.) must probably, in the great majority of instances, be considered as vocalic, even where it is preceded by a short syllable, as in **wunlan**, **maclan**, or **frēmlan**, **þenian** (400. note 2).

2) **g** is by far the more usual sign. Initially it appears only before **i**, **e**, **y**, since **j** unites with any other vowel to form one of the diphthongs **ie**, **ea**, **eo** (74): **gif**, **giēt** (**gyt**), **gē**, **géar**, **geong**, etc. (but also **gi** in **giung**, etc., cf. 1, above). Medially it occurs also before guttural vowels: **hērgas**, **hērgum**, **nērgan**. Instead of the simple **g** we often find **ig** (**eg**), and before **a** even **ige**: **hēriges**, **hērigas**, **hērigreas**, **nērig(e)an**; yet this combination is perhaps intended to denote the sounds **ij** (cf. 1, above). As a final, **g** is rare, and is only met with after a long vowel: **seg**, *island*; **hseg**, *hay*; **cseg**, imp. *call* (cf. also 24. note).

176. Germanic **j** is regularly preserved only when initial; when medial, only occasionally between vowels, as in **frīgea**, *Lord* (beside **fréa**, Goth. **frauja**); **frīge**, nom. plur. masc. of **fréo**, *free*; **fréogan**, *liberate*; **cfe-gan**, *call*, etc.; and after a short vowel + consonant (*i.e.*, according to 228, after a short vowel + **r**): **nērian**, **hērian**, **wērian**, **hēries** = Goth. **nasjan**, **hazjan**, **warjan**, **harjis**.

177. On the contrary, older medial **j** is always lost after a long closed syllable. This rule applies not only to Germ. **j**, but also to Germ. **i** before a vowel (interchanging with **j**, according to 45. 8). Whenever this **i** did not become final (130. note) it was changed in

Primitive OE. (apparently rather late) to **j**, and thus coincided with the older **j**, and disappeared under the same circumstances as the latter. Examples are:

- a) older **j** in verbs like **siellan**, **scieppan**, **sættan**, **læcgan** (400), for ***salljan**, ***skappjan**, etc., OS. **sællian**, **scéppian**, **sættian**, **leggian**, for Goth. **saljan**, etc. (228); likewise in nouns like **sæcg**, **cynn** (246), **sibb** (257);
- b) older **i** in forms like **hierdes**, -**das**, -**da**, -**dum**, **rīces**, -**cu**, -**ca**, -**cum** (246), **bēnde**, -**a**, -**um** (257); and in verbs like **dēman** (403), for ***hirdies**, ***rīkies**, ***bandia**, ***dōmian**, etc.

NOTE. Unequivocal traces of the former presence of **j**, **i** after a syllable, are the **i**-umlaut, the palatalization of preceding gutturals (206. 6), and the West Germ. gemination (228).

2) *The Liquids.*

r.

178. 1) The OE. **r** was probably the cerebral or inverted **r** still heard in Kent and the western counties of England, and common in America. It was pronounced with the tip of the tongue strongly recurved and approximated to the hard palate, for on this supposition alone is it possible to account for the OE. breaking before **r** (79).

2) **r** is of frequent occurrence as initial, medial, and final; less frequently is it geminated, as

- a) in **feorran**, *far*; **āfirran**, *remove*; **steorra**, *star*; **cierran**, *turn*; cf. Goth. **fairra**, **stairro**, etc.;
- b) in **ierre**, *angry*; **ðyrre**, *withered*; **mierran**, *prevent*; **durran**, *dare*; cf. Goth. ***airzeis**, **þaursus**, **marzjan**, **daursan** (181. 2);

c) resulting from syncope, as in **wærra**, comp. of **wær**, *wary*, etc. The **r** is not subject to gemination before **j** (228).

179. Medial **r** often undergoes metathesis:

1) **r** preceding a vowel has a tendency to change positions with it when the latter is followed by **nn** or by **s**-combinations: **iernan**, *run*; **beornan**, *burn*; **burna**, *fountain*; **hors**, *horse*; **forsc**, *frog*; **fersc**, *fresh*; **ðerscan**, *thirst*; **berstan**, *burst*; **fierst**, *time* (cf. Goth. **rinnan**, **brinnan**, etc.); before a single **s** only in **gærs**, *grass*; before **dd** in LWS. **bird**, beside **brid(d)**; North. **ðird(d)a**, *third*; before **ð** in **-ferð** for **-frið** in proper names like **Tídfærð**, **Húnferð**, along with **Tídfrið**, etc. To these examples may be added **cornuch**, **cornuc**, *crane*; and **seruf**, beside **scurf**, *scurf*.

NOTE. Here belongs also **ærn**, *house* (= Goth. **razn**, cf. OE. **ræsn**), which may stand for ***rænn**, with assimilation of the spirant **z** (**s**) to **n**. For the relation of metathesis to breaking see **79**. note 2.

2) The converse of the metathesis already described takes place before **ht** in the North. **frohtian**, *fear*, **fryhtu**, *fright*, beside **forhtian**, **fryhtu**; **breht**, *bright*, and its derivatives, beside **berht**. In the other dialects, **-breht**, **-briht** seems to occur only as the second element of compound proper nouns, as in **Céolbreht**.

180. **r** is generally stable, whatever its position in the word. For syllabic **r** see **139**. Isolated examples of ethlipsis are: **specan**, **spæc** (at first probably Kentish), for and beside **sprecan**, *speak*, **spræc**, *speech*; **pætig** for **prætig**, *tricky*; North. **wixla**, *exchange*, beside **wrixla**; Ps. **geøndebryrdan**, **øndebyrdnis**, cf. North. **geøndebred-nian**, OE. **onbryrdnis**, **inbryrdan**, etc. Assimilation of **lr** to **ll** in **sélla**, for and beside **sélra** comp. (307);

of **sr** to **ss** in **laessa**, simplified in **wiersa**, **wyrsa** (312), Goth. **wairsiza**, **ðis**se pron. (338). In these examples **r** always springs from **z** (181. 2); but cf. also **ússes**, etc. (336), from ***úsres**.

NOTE. For the loss of final Germanic **z** see 182.

181. OE. **r** is of twofold origin. It corresponds
1) to Germ. **r**, as in **rice**, **rádan**, **bringan**, **beorgan**,
wer (Goth. **reiki**, **rédan**, **briggan**, **bairgan**, **wair**). This **r** may occur in any part of a word.

2) to Germ. **z**, partly retained in Goth. as **z**, and partly represented by **s**: **mára**, *greater*; **éare**, *ear*; **hér-ian**, *praise*; **nérian**, *save* (Goth. **maiza**, **ausó**, **hazjan**, **nasjan**). Then especially in grammatical interchange with **s**: **céosan**, **céas**, **curon**, **coren** (233 ff.). Likewise in the combinations **rz**, as in **ierre**, etc. (178. 2, b), and **zd**: **reord**, *speech*; **hord**, *treasure* (Goth. **razda**, **huzd**).

182. This **r** from **z** is restricted to the medial position, for initial **z** did not exist in Germanic, and originally final **z** is always lost in OE., whether belonging to inflectional or derivational forms. Under the head of inflectional endings belongs, for example, the Germ. **z** (Goth. **s**) of the nom. sing., that of many gen. sing. and nom. acc. plur., the **s** of the 2d sing. opt., both pres. and pret., that of various pronominal forms, etc.; as examples may be cited the nominatives **hē**, **hwā** (Goth. **is**, **hwas**), plur. **wē**, **gē**, **ðā** (Goth. **weis**, **jus**, **þós**); the datives **mē**, **ðē** (Goth. **mis**, **þus**). To the class of derivational forms belong especially

a) the comparative adverbs **má**, **bët**, **lëng**, etc. (323), Goth. **mais**, **batis**, **laggis**;

b) the nom. sing. of the **os**-, **es**-stems (288 ff.), like **sige**, **bëre**, **lqmb**, **cealf**, Goth. **sigis**, **bariz-**, etc.

NOTE. Where an OE. **r** appears in place of an originally final **z**, it is in consequence of a reinsertion from polysyllabic forms; so in forms like **sigor**, **lombor**, etc., compared with **sige**, **lomb** (289 ff.).

I.

183. The OE. **l** must (disregarding possible palatalization before **i**, **j**) have had a twofold pronunciation: first, that of an ordinary **l**; and secondly, a pronunciation nearly or quite guttural, wherever it caused breaking of a preceding vowel (80 ff.). Upon what this difference of sound depends has as yet not been determined; yet it would seem that the phonetic environment was not the only factor concerned (note, for example, the difference between **siellan** and **tellan**, 80. note 2; 158. 2).

l may occur in any part of a word, is frequently geminated, and often vocalic (140).

Metathesis of **l** takes place in **selld** for **setl**, **bold** for **botl**, **spáld** for **spátl** (cf. 202. 2); and likewise in the proper names ending in -gils from -gísl, as well as in the suffixes -els from -isl, and -ilfe, -elfe, from -ifli. To these may be added occasional **ald** from **adl**, *disease*; and **géalh** for **géagl**, *jaw*.

3) *The Nasals.*

m, n.

184. **m** denotes the labial, and **n**, in conformity with Latin usage, not only the dental, but also the guttural and palatal nasal,—the latter, however, only when it stands immediately before one of the gutturals, **c**, **g**. **m** and dental **n** are found in all positions, are frequently geminated, and occasionally vocalic (141 ff.).

The occurrence of nasals is subject only to the following restrictions:

185. Before the surd spirants **f**, **ð**, and **s**, there is a loss of **m** and **n**, accompanied by a lengthening of the preceding vowel; older **a**, OE. **q** (65), is thus converted into **ø** (66). Examples are:

1) of the loss of **m**: **ffff**, *five*, Goth. **fimf**; the adv. **sófte**, *soft*, comp. **séft**, 323 (OHG. **samfto**) ; **øsle**, *ousel* (OHG. **amsala**) ;

2) of the loss of **n**: **gós**, *goose*, plur. **gés**; **hós**, *troop*; **øðer**, *other*; **tóð**, *tooth*, plur. **téð**; **ést**, *favor*; **sið**, *journey*; **ús**, *us*; **húsl**, *houzel*; **cúðe**, *could*; **múð**, *mouth*; **ýst**, *storm*; **wýscan**, *wish* (Goth. ***gans**, **hansa**, **anþar**, etc.).

NOTE 1. The length of the vowel is established by occasional gemination: **Suutanglorum**, Cod. Dipl., A.D. 736; **Cuutfertthi**, A.D. 755-757; **Cuutfert**, A.D. 767; **slith**, A.D. 805-831. In later documents accents often occur.

Exceptions to the foregoing are:

a) the 2d sing. **cónst**, **mónst** (422 ff.); a few foreign words like **pinsian**, *weigh*;

b) all words in which **m**, **n** + spirant have been brought into juxtaposition by the syncope of a vowel, like **ðrims**, *a coin* (OHG. **drimissa**); **winster**, *left* (OHG. **winistar**); and especially derivatives in -sian (OHG. -isón), like **grimsian**, *rage*; **cláensian**, *cleanse*; **minsian**, *diminish*.

NOTE 2. No **n** occurs in OE. before **h**, the guttural surd spirant, for in this position it was already lost in Germanic. That under these circumstances the **n** first caused nasalization of the preceding vowel, and that as a result older **anh** became **øh**, has already been stated (45. 5; 67). Examples of **fh**, **úh**, from **inh**, **unh**, are: the verb **ðéon**, from ***ðíhan** (383), part. **ðungen** (234); the pret. **ðúhte**, from **ðynean** (407. a); **úhte**, **úht**, *dawn* (Goth. **úhtwō**).

NOTE 3. The spelling **onswini** of the Collingham Cross (Stephens, 1. 390) may simply denote a nasal pronunciation of the o.

186. Final **n** of an inflectional ending is suppressed in North., particularly in the infinitive (363), the 1st plur. opt. (361), and the weak declension (276). The **n** is retained, however, in the pret. ind. (364). In the remaining dialects, inflectional **n** is lost only in the 1st and 2d plur. before the pronouns **wē**, **gē** (360).

NOTE. In late texts the final **n** of the preposition **on** is frequently lost when it occurs in a compound word or stereotyped phrase, and the prefix then appears as **a**: **abftan**, **amang**, **aweg**, **ariht**, **adrédan**, **afón**, etc.; **o** is occasionally found, as in **omiddan**, **oniht**. In LWS. medial **n** disappears from the **r** cases of **mín**, **ðín**, and more rarely **án**: **míre**, **míra**, **mýra**, **ðýrae**, **áre**. The LWS. forms **ollunc**, **ollungeges**, etc., are developed from original **qndlong**, through an intermediate **qnlong**. Final **mn** is frequently simplified to **m**: thus **em-** for **emn-**, from **efn**, *equal*; **hræm**, **hrem** for **hræmn**, from **hræfn**, *raven*, etc. Similarly **pn** becomes **p** in **wépman** for **wépnman**. The **n** is lost in **elboga** for **elmboga** (**elnboga**), and **wole** for **wolen**.

Final **n** after **g**, **c**, frequently undergoes metathesis: thus **seng**, **freng**, **reng**, **þeng**, **tánc**, for **segen**, *standard*; **frægn**, *asked*; **regn**, *rain*; **þegn**, *thane*; **tácn**, *token*.

Medial **n** undergoes metathesis in **cláesnian** for **cláensian** (North. **cláensia**). Metathesis of **m** is found in **worms** for **worsm**, *pus*. In one instance **nybðe** occurs for **nymðe**, Vesp. Ps. 194. 33.

187. Interchange of m and n. Final **m** of an inflectional syllable is changed to **n** in later OE., and indeed now and then in the Cura Past., especially after an unaccented syllable, as in the dat. plur. **dagon** for **dagum**, or in the dat. sing. masc. and neut. and the dat. plur. of the adjective **gódon** (**gódan**) for **gódum**; also in the pron. **ðán** for **ðám** (337).

NOTE. Before labials in compound words **n** rarely becomes **m**, as in **Húmberht** for **Húnberht**, etc.

B. NON-SONOROUS CONSONANTS.

1) *Labials.*

p.

188. **p** is the smooth labial. It is rare as an initial in Germanic words: *pæð*, *path*, *pád*, *garment*, *plega*, *play*; but more frequent in foreign words like *pund*, *pound*, *pfl*, *arrow*, *pytt*, *pit*. On the other hand, it is common in the medial and final positions: *helpan*, *help*, *weorpan*, *cast*, *scearp*, *sharp*, *wépen*, *weapon*; and is frequently geminated, as in *up(p)*, *up*, *topp*, *top*, *loppe*, *flea*, *appel*, *apple*, *scieppan*, *create*.

189. **p** always remains unchanged; only **pn** sometimes becomes **mn** in *wámn*, *wámnian* from *wápen*, *weapon*; *wépnian*, *arm*.

NOTE. For the change of **p** to **f** before **t** in Germ. see 232, and for the metathesis of **sp** to **ps** see 205. 3.

b.

190. In the majority of texts **b** is the sign for the middle sonant labial. It occurs in the simple form initially: *bindan*, *bind*, *bringan*, *bring*, *blód*, *blood*; in the medial and final positions as a geminate: *habban*, *have*, *libban*, *live*, *wéb(b)*, *web*, *sib(b)*, *kin*; and in the combination **mb**: *lqmb*, *lamb*, *cumbol*, *standard*, *symbol*, *banquet*. When medial or final, simple **b** is replaced by **f**: *habban*, 2d and 3d sing. *hafast*, *hafað*; *wébb*, *web*, but *wefan*, *weave*; *hébban*, *heave*, pret. *hóf*, part. *hæfen*.

NOTE. In the main, **b** is stable; only rarely is there a change of final **b** to **p**, as in *Iamp*, Kent. Gl., and total disappearance in **ym-**, **em-**, *around*, when the latter is used as a prefix.

191. In the oldest texts (especially Ep.) **b** also designates the sound of a sonant spirant, either labial or labio-dental. It was then pronounced like the English **v**, a sound which was afterwards represented by **f** (192. 2; cf. also 194); so, for example, in **obaer**, **hebuc**, **halbae**, **earbed** (Ep.), **giaban**, **hlábard** (Cod. Dipl.); even as a final: **gloob**, **hualb**, **salb** (Ep.), **gib**, **ob** (Cod. Dipl.), etc., for ordinary WS. **ofer**, **heafuc**, **healfe**, **earfod-**, **giefan**, **hláford**, **glóf**, **hwealf**, **sealf**, **gif**, **of**.

f.

192. **f** has a twofold character, as standing for the surd and for the sonant labio-dental spirant, English **f** and **v**.

1) It is uniformly a surd spirant when initial, as in **fæder**, *father*, **findan**, *find*; when geminated in the medial position, as in **woffian**, *rage*, **snoffa**, *nausea* (Lye), the proper names **Offa**, **Yffe**, **Wuffa**, and the foreign word **offrian**, *offer*; in the combinations **ft** and **fs**, like **hæft**, *captive*, **gesceaft**, *creature*, **ræfsan**, *censure*; and no doubt originally whenever it corresponds, as a medial or final, to Germ. **f**, as in **wulf**, *wolf*, **fif**, *five*.

2) On the other hand, it is usually a sonant spirant in the medial position, whenever it does not occur in one of the combinations **ff**, **ft**, **fs**: e.g., **ofer**, *over*; **giefan**, *give*; **hláford**, *lord*; **earfoð**, *labor*; **sealfian**, *anoint*. It then corresponds to Germ. **þ**, Goth. **b**, OHG. **b**; in the earliest OE. texts **b** and **u** are found as its substitutes (191; 194).

NOTE 1. The use of **f** for the sonant spirant is still comparatively rare in Ep.; but by the ninth century **f** comes more and more to be used for the **v**-sound.

NOTE 2. Gemination of the sonant spirant **v** does not occur in OE., its place being taken by **bb**; see 190.

NOTE 3. In *næbre*, *febres* (*febbres*), **b** for **f** occurs as late as the Cura Past. (cf. 191).

NOTE 4. Not till a very late period does **f** occur for final **w**: *híf-cund*, *familiar*; *gehlóf*, *bellow*; *gléof*, *glowed*; *hléf*, *cairn*; and even once for medial **w**: *stánhíset*, *stonequarry*.

193. Except for the interchange with **b** (191) and **v** (194), **f** is tolerably stable in OE. Exceptions are as follows:

1) In the oldest texts **pt** sometimes represents the usual **ft**: *scæpt*, *shaft*, *edscaept*, *palingenesis*, *gidopta*, *comrade*, the Epinal forms of *scæft*, *edscæft*, *giðofta*; but side by side with these occur *siftit*, *sifts*, *nift*, *niece*, etc. (cf. 221. note 1).

2) **fn** (with sonant **f**) frequently passes into **mn**, especially when medial, and more particularly in later OE. (cf. 189): *emne*, *even*, *stemn*, *voice*, *stæmn*, *stem*, from *efne*, *stefne*, *stæfn*; so likewise LOE. *wimman*, plur. *wimmen*, from *wifmon*, *woman*.

NOTE. This change does not take place in the verb *æfnan*, *efnan*, and *ræfnan*, *perform*, presumably because the **f** is a surd.

v.

194. In foreign words like **Dauid**, **Eue**, **Leui**, **v**, or rather **u**, denotes the sound of the Latin **v**, identical with the OE. sonant labio-dental spirant; hence these words are also occasionally written **Efe**, (gen.) **Lefes**, (but not **Ewe**).

In OE. words **u** is employed in the earlier period to represent the semi-vowel **w** (171); very seldom to denote the sonant labio-dental spirant, as in **Auene** (proper noun), *yuel*, *selua*, for **Afene**, *yfel*, *selfa*. The employment of **u** for **f** is not common until the Middle English period.

2) *Dentals.*

t.

195. t always stands for the smooth dental, and is common in all positions: **tōθ**, *tooth*; **tréo**, *tree*; **tén**, *ten*; **etan**, *eat*; **heorte**, *heart*; **wát**, *wot*. It is frequently geminated, as in **sceat(t)**, *sceattes*, *money*; **séttan**, *set*; **hluttor**, *clear*; **hátte**, *is called* (367); **grétte**, *greeted*, etc. For the combinations **ft**, **st**, **ht**, see 232; cf. also **193. 1**; **221.** note 1.

196. t is almost without exception stable. Only in EWS. (especially in the Hatton manuscript of the Cura Pastoralis) does st very frequently change to sð, particularly in the termination of the 2d sing. pres. ind.: **ðū giefesð**, *hilpesð*, etc., — but also in words like **fæsð**, *fast*, **dúsð**, *dust*, **wæsðm**, *growth*, **aðrísðrigan**, *obscure*, **wásð**, *knowest*; superlatives like **máesð**, *most*, **æresð**, *erst*, etc.

NOTE 1. Ecthlipsis of t sometimes takes place in consonant combinations, especially after h, s: **drohnian**, **þrísnæs**, **fæsnian**, **genihsum**, for **drohntian**, **þrístnes**, **fæstnian**, **genihtsum**. At a subsequent period t is sometimes inserted between s and l, in **mistle** for **mislic**, the oldest example noted being in a charter of A.D. 831: **elimestlicast**, Cod. Dipl., 1. 295.

NOTE 2. For OE. st for sð see 202. 5; for t, tt, from tð, dð, 202. 3.

d.

197. d is the sign for the middle dental, and corresponds, as a rule, to the Gothic d. It may occur in any position, and is subject to gemination: **daeg**, *day*; **driffan**, *drive*; **dweorg**, *dwarf*; **eald**, *old*; **eardian**, *dwell*; **biddan**, *request*, etc.

Only in very ancient manuscripts does d stand for ð, þ (199. note).

198. **d** is generally stable, but the following facts are to be noted:

- 1) **d** experiences grammatical change with **ð**, **p** (234).
- 2) **ld** corresponds in part to Goth. **ld**, as in **ceald**, *cold*, **healdan**, *hold*, and in part springs from an older **lð** (202. 2).
- 3) **ldl** becomes **ll** in **siellic**, *peculiar* (Goth. *sildaleiks*), and likewise occasionally in North. **ballice**, *boldly*, **m̄nigfallice**, **seofonfallice**, *manifold*, *sevenfold*, for and beside **-baldlice**, **-faldlice**.
- 4) Before and after surds **d** becomes **t**:

a) e.g., in the 2d sing. pres. ind., as in **bintst**, **st̄entst** (359. 2), from **bindan**, **st̄ondan**; **milts**, *sympathy*, **miltisan**, *compassionate* (likewise with ethlipsis of **t**: **mils**, **milsian**), from **milde**; **gítsian**, *covet* (often written with **ds** in the Cotton Ms. of the Cura Past.), with which compare Goth. **gaidw**, *want*; and in compound words like **métsceat**, **antsacodon**, **gesuntfulnes** (Cura Past.), for **méd-**, **and-**, **gesund-**. Yet the spelling is often conformed to the etymology: **bindst**, **milds**, **mildsian**. For **t** from **dð** see 202. 3.

b) particularly in the weak pret. and past part. of verbs with long stems, like **sc̄enete**, **fekte** (405. 2).

5) After consonant + **d**, **t**, there is a loss of **d**, as in pret. **s̄ende**, **éhte**, from **s̄endan**, **éhtan** (405. 4).

NOTE 1. Final **d** has disappeared in proclitic **qn-** from **qnd**, as in **qnfón**, *receive*; **qngletan**, *understand*; **qnsacan**, *oppose*; cf. **qndfenga**, *receiver*; **qndgiet**, *intellect*; **qndsaca**, *opponent*, etc. This led to occasional substitution of **and-** for a quite different **qn-**, **an-**, in words like **andeleowa**, **andweald**, **andwealhnys**.

NOTE 2. **d** is sometimes inserted between **n** and **l**, as in **endlufon** and numerous adjectives like **hwílendlīc**, **qndrysendlīc**, **forgyfendlīc**.

ð, þ.

199. The two letters **ð** and **þ** originally denote without distinction the interdental spirant which is now represented in Eng. by **th** (cf. 201). In the course of this work we propose to follow the best older MSS. (like Cura Past., Ps.), which more or less uniformly employ **ð**.

NOTE. In the oldest texts there is scarcely any trace of either character; Ep. has but a very few examples of either, and the same is true of the oldest charters. The earliest dated **ð** (*paeð*) has been found in a charter of Wihtred of Kent, A.D. 700–715; the earliest dated **þ** (*aelfþryð*) in a charter of Coenwulf of Mercia, A.D. 811; but throughout the whole of the ninth century **þ** is but sparingly employed.

Instead of **ð**, **þ**, the oldest texts generally employ **th** in the initial position: **thorn**, **thegen**; very rarely **d**, as in **gldopta**, Ep. 195, **modgidane**, Beda's Death Song; in the medial position, **th** and **d**: **lotha**, **loda**, Ep., **aethil-**, **aedil-**, Cod. Dipl. (in lieu of **ðð** is written **thth**, **tht**: **aeththae**, **othte**, *or*); in the final position for the most part **th**: **mearth**, **laath**, **hrilosith**, **sniuuth**, Ep., but sometimes **t**: **siftit**, **faehit**, **stridit**, Ep., **Cuutfert**, **Cuutferth**, **Sutangli**, Cod. Dipl.

200. **ð**, **þ**, may occur in any position, and both may undergo gemination: **ðing**, *thing*; **ðri**, *three*; **ðwingan**, *force*; **weorðan**, *become*; **morð**, *murder*; **oððe**, *or*; **scéððan**, *injure*; **siððan**, *since*; or **þing**, **þri**, **weorþan**, **oþþe** (**oðþe**, **oþðe**), etc.

NOTE. For **ðð** the North. has **hð** in **mohðe**, **mohða**, *moth*.

201. The **þ** of Germanic represented only a surd spirant, and this pronunciation must be postulated as the original one in the case of OE. **ð**, **þ**. Yet it is quite possible that the original sound had already been differentiated in OE. into surd and sonant, the sonant occurring only between voiced sounds (cf. 192. 2; 204). In favor of this view may be adduced

- 1) the spelling of the oldest MSS., which employ the medial **d** (199. note);
- 2) the retention of the group **ðd** (202. 4; 405. 3);
- 3) the passage of **lð** into **ld** (with middle sonant, 202. 2).

202. With regard to the changes of **ð** the following observations apply:

- 1) **ð** undergoes grammatical change with **d** (234);

NOTE 1. Ps. North. have **éðr**, *vein*, **frémðe**, *stranger*, for WS. **áedr**, **frémde**.

2) older **lp** passes into **ld**: **beald**, *bold*; **wilde**, *wild*; **gold**, *gold*; **hold**, *gracious*; **wulðor**, *glory* (Goth. **balþs**, **wilþeis**, **gulþ**, etc.). Occasionally **lð** occurs, but exclusively in the oldest documents: **halð**, **oħaelði**, **spilð**, Ep.; **Balthhaeardi**, Cod. Dipl., A.D. 732; **Balthhardi**, A.D. 740. The **lð** which is due to syncope suffers no further change: **fielð**, *falls*; **gesálðu**, *success*, etc.

3) Older **ðl**, when occurring in a long stem, is changed to **dl**: **náedl** (Goth. **néþla**); **wáedl** (***wéthla**); **mídl** (OHG. **mindil**, *Goth. **minþl**); **ádl** (Ps. **áðl**).

NOTE 2. The forms **bold**, **seld** (**seðl**), and **spáld** (**spáðl**), are peculiar to North., standing for WS. **botl**, *edifice*; **setl**, *seat*, *throne*; and **spátl**, *spittle*.

4) **tð** and **dð** become **tt**, which is simplified when final and when following a consonant:

a) **ðætte**, *that*, for **ðæt ðe** (so looser combinations like **ðættá**, **ðættæt**, from **ðæt ðá**, **ðæt ðæt**); **bít**, *it(t)*, from ***bítð**, ***itð** (359. 3).

b) **ðfermétto**, *arrogance*; **éaðmétto**, *humility*; **wéamétto**, *grief*; **láttéow**, *leader*; **mittý**, *while*; **gesyntu**, *health*; **brýtofta**, *spousals*; **gescéntu**, *shame*; verbal forms like **bít**, **bint** (359. 3); for ***ðfermédðu**, etc.,

ládðéow, mid **ðy**, *gesyndðu, brýdþofta, gescendðu (255. 3), *bíðð, etc. The spelling is at times conformed to the etymology, as in **lápéow**, **ládtéow**, and such forms are the regular ones when the t, d, and ð belong to different words.

NOTE 3. The assimilation of initials and finals is not carried out with entire consistency until the date of the *Ormulum*. See an article by F. A. Blackburn in *Am. Journal of Philology*, vol. iii. pp. 46-58.

5) **ðd** (with sonant **ð**? 201. 2), is mostly preserved, and does not pass into **dd** till a late period (405. 3).

6) **sð** becomes **st**, though the etymological spelling often holds its ground as **sð**: so in the verbs **cíest**, **wiext**, side by side with **cíesð**, **wiexð** (395. 5); in abstract nouns ending in -ðu, like **mætelfestu**, *lack of food*; **réce-lfestu**, *recklessness*; also when final s and initial ð come together in the 2d sing. of the verb, as in **hilpestu**, **hafastu** (from **hilpes ðu**, **hafas ðu**), from which the later and usual forms of the 2d sing. in -st are then deduced (357).

NOTE 4. For WS. **sð** from older **st** see 196.

7) **ðs** is often retained: **blfðs**, *bliss*; **blfðsian**, *rejoice*; **lfðs**, *mildness* (perhaps only etymological spelling); but usually passes into **ss**: **bliss**, **blissian**, **liss** (with short vowel?); so also **ewist** (**cwífst**), from **cwiðest**, **cwiðst**.

s.

203. **s** is one of the commonest sounds of OE., may occupy any position in the word, and is also subject to gemination: **sunu**, *son*; **sittan**, *sit*; **sceal**, *shall*; **sprecan**, *speak*; **stqndan**, *stand*; **sláepan**, *sleep*; **smæl**, *small*; **snottor**, *wise*; **sweltan**, *die*; medially and finally: **céosan**, *choose*; **wesan**, *be*; **fisc**, *fish*; **giest**,

guest; *cosp*, *fetter*; *cyssan*, *kiss*; *assa*, *ass*, etc. Combined with preceding **c**, **h**, it becomes **x** (209; 221. 2).

204. The sound of Germ. **s** was that of a surd dental spirant; and in like manner OE. **s** was at first, in all probability, a surd, as Germ. sonant **z** had either become **r** or been entirely lost (181 ff.). However, it is not impossible that the modern Eng. change to a sonant spirant did already take place between voiced sounds in OE., as in preterits like *l̄fesde*, *r̄fesde*, from *l̄fesan*, *r̄fesan*, contrasted with such as *cyste* from *cyssan* (405. 2 and 201; but also 198. 4).

205. Concerning the **s** it is especially to be observed:

1) There is grammatical change between **s** and **r** (234).

2) For the combinations **st** and **ss** from dental + **t** see 232; for **st** from **sð**, 202. 5; **sð** from **st**, 196; **ss** from **sr**, 180, from **ðs**, 202. 6; for **sc̄l**, **sc̄n**, **sc̄m**, instead of **sl**, **sn**, **sm**, 210. 1.

3) The combinations **sc** and **sp**, especially in later WS. and when medial, often undergo metathesis to **cs** (**hs**, but usually **x**) and **ps**: thus *áscian*, *ask*; *wascan*, *wash*; *asce*, *ashes*; *fiscas*, *fishes*; *tuscas*, *tusks*; often assume the forms *ácsian* (*áhsian*, *áxian*), *waxan*, *axe*, *fixas*, *tuxas*. So also *betwux*, *between* (329); *muxle*, *mussel*, etc.; *cosp* and *cops*, *fetter*; *cirpsian*, *crisp* (cf. 179).

NOTE 1. The sound of **ts** is sometimes, but very rarely, denoted by the letter **z**: *bezt*, *best*; *mlz*, *grace*; *draconze*, Lat. *dracontea*; North. *bæzere* (*bædzere*, *bezera*), *Baptist*. In North. it is sometimes represented by **c**: *plæce*, Lat. *platea*. Otherwise **ts** is retained, as in (*ge*)*brytsena*, *fragment*; the foreign name *Atsur*, *Ætsur* (ON. *Qzurr*); *palentse*, *palatium*; *dracentse*, *dracontea*; *yntse*, *uncia*; though *Adsur* (*Adzurus*), *dragense*, *yndse* (*ynse*), do occasionally occur.

NOTE 2. The form *fse(r)n* appears to be peculiar to WS., and *fren* to the Anglian dialect.

3) *Gutturals and Palatals.*

206. In general. The letters **c** (**k, q**), **g**, **h** (**x**) represent in OE. both gutturals and palatals. The latter seem to have been unknown in Germanic, which possessed only a smooth guttural **k**, a surd spirant **h** (the German **ch** in **ach**), a sonant spirant **g**, and perhaps in certain cases a middle sonant **g**.

These sounds were transferred to primitive OE. without change; medial **h** was still guttural, since it was capable of causing breaking (82 ff.); and neither **c** nor **g** hinders the occurrence of **u**-umlaut (106. 2; 107. 1; 162. 1), as would probably have been the case were they pronounced as palatals. In the course of time the original gutturals became palatals in certain situations, and these again affected the sounds in their vicinity in a particular manner. The more important of these results may be summed up as follows:

- 1) Initial **c**, **g**, became palatal before the vowels **æ**, **ǣ** (= Germ. **ɛ**, Lat. **ᾳ**), older **e**, **eo**, **ea**, **eo**, **i**, **f** (unstable **y**, **ȳ**), but remained guttural before guttural vowels, before **ǣ** from **ai** (90), before **ɛ** from **ö** (94), stable **y**, **ȳ**, and consonants; hence their effect upon **e**, **ǣ** (74 ff.), but not on the other vowels.
- 2) Initial **sc** shows a tendency to palatalization without regard to the following vowel (76).
- 3) Initial **h** became a mere breathing, and underwent no other marked change.
- 4) **h** final, and in the combinations **hh**, **ht**, and **x** (= **hs**) usually became palatal in the Ps. and North., as the palatal umlaut proves (162). Palatal influence

extends in WS. only to the **hh**, **ht**, and **x** which follow **eo** (101), more rarely to those which follow **ea** (thus **hliehan**, **nieht**, **meiht**, though these words are also affected by i-umlaut).

5) Medial **c** and **g** likewise tend to palatal pronunciation. Consequently they prevent in WS. the occurrence of the u-umlaut of **a** and **e** (105 ff.), and cause palatal umlaut of **io** to **i** (101; 107); for their influence in the Ps. and North. see 162. This tendency, however, is not to be regarded as coincident with full palatalization, for the simple medial **c** and **g** are distinguished from the fully palatalized **c**, **g**, due to older **i**, **j**, as well in OE. orthography as in the subsequent phonetic development of the language.

6) Medial **c** and **g**, inclusive of the geminates **cc** and **gg** (207; 216) are changed to real palatals before older **i**, **j** (like initial **c**, **g**, in 1 above), and retain this character even after the **j** has disappeared (177). To indicate the palatal pronunciation there is frequently an insertion of **e** (rarely **i**) before **a**, **o**: **méceas**, **mécea** (246), **sécean**, **récean**, **ðécean** (407); **fylgean** (416. note 5), **liegean** (372), **ségean** (415), along with **mécas**, **méca**, **sécan**, **récan**, **ðécan**, **fylgan**, **liegan**, **ségan**; **ménigeo**, **stréng eo**, **gefylleo**, -**cio** (246), **andfeng eost**, beside **ménigo**, **stréng o**, **gefylleo**, **andfeng ost**. In a similar manner, **i** is sometimes inserted before **u**: **éci um**, **dréncium**, **drýggium**, side by side with **écum**, **dréncum**, **drýgum**, etc. No such insertion takes place after **sc**.

NOTE. The most trustworthy criterion for the complete palatalization of **c** is the subsequent change of **c'** to **ch**. For palatal **c** in the initial position cf. Eng. **chaff**, **cheese**, **cheap**, **churl**, **chew**, **child**, **chill** = OE. **ceaf**, **cáse**, **céap**, **ceorl**, **céowan**, **cild**, **ciele** (*cyle*); but **key**, **keel**, **keen**, **kin**, **king**, **kiss** = OE. **cæg**, **célan**, **céne**, **cyn**,

cynning, cyssan, etc.; for the medial position (with palatalization of i, j), **rich, reach, teach, fetch = rīce, rácean, técean, fēcean**; ch after i is more rare, as in **which, such**, ME. **ich, adv. -lich, etc.** Less evident is the palatalization in the case of **g, sc**; yet it must be observed that Eng. **dge** regularly corresponds to OE. **cg** from **gj** (216; 228): **bridge, hedge = OE. brycg, hēcg, etc.**

c (k, q; x).

207. c is the character for the smooth guttural and the smooth palatal. It stands before all vowels, even e, i, y: **cásere, emperor, cosp, fetter, cūð, known**, as well as **cefer, beetle, ceald, cold, céosan, choose, cild, child, cynn, kin**; medially, **sacan, quarrel, swicol, decepti-
ve, sacu, quarrel, æcer, field, hóciht, curved**; also geminated, **sæc, sæcces, sack, ðæccan, cover, etc.**

NOTE 1. For **ew** see 208; for **et** instead of **ht**, 221. note 1; for **ee, ei**, as denoting the palatal c, 206. 6.

NOTE 2. Now and then the MSS. write **k** for c: **kennan, kéné, kneo, folkes, aeker, glok**; and likewise **ek** for ee: **ðicke**. In WS. this **k** is found somewhat more frequently before **y**, or the **i** which has sprung from it (31): **kynn, kyning, kyne-** in compound words (likewise **kinging, king**) for **cynn, etc.** Perhaps the **k** is intended to denote the guttural sound (206. 1).

208. The sound of the Latin **qu** is generally denoted by **ew**, or, in the older texts, by **eu**: **cweðan, ewic, cwómon, older cueðan, cuic, cuómun.** Only in isolated examples is the Latin **qu** employed as a substitute, as in **quidu, quiða, quicæ, Ep.; Quoenðryð, Cod. Dipl., A.D. 811; quémde, Blickling Glosses, and not infrequently in the Corpus Glosses.**

209. For **es** (originally due to the syncope of a vowel, or to metathesis of **se**) **x** is usually found: **ríxian, reign; eax, axe; áxian, ask; axe, ashes (205. 3); betweox, between (329); for rícesian (OHG. ríchisón),**

áesian, etc. The latter forms, however, sometimes occur.

NOTE 1. Instead of this **x** the scribes now and then write **hs**: **áhsian**, **betweohs(n)** (221. 2).

NOTE 2. The sound of **x** is variously represented, not only by **es** and **hs**, as above, but also by **ex**, **hx**, **xs**, **cxs**, **hxs**, **gs**.

210. The following irregularities in regard to **c** are still to be noted:

1) **c** is occasionally inserted in the combinations **sl**, **sm**, **sn**: **scleacnes**, **áslacad**, Kent. Gl. 694, 696; **semégende**, Ps. 118. 129; **senicendan**, Cura Past. 155. 17; **sclát**, carpebat Corp. 433; **scruncon**, Ep. Alex. 320, etc.

2) In the North. dialect final **c** often passes into **h** (written **ch**, and even **g**), especially in the conjunction **ah**, *but*, and the pronouns **ih** (as an enclitic likewise **ig**, as in **sædig**, **forgeldig**, for **sægde ic**, **forgeldo ic**), **meh** (**mech**), **ðeh**, **úsih** (**úsich**, **úsig**), **iuh** (**iuh**), 332; **ah** instead of **ac** is also found in the other dialects.

3) Medial **c** in North. is often written **ch**: **folches**, **werches**, **wlqñches**, **swenche**, **stñches**, Rush.²

NOTE. For **c** in place of **g** see 215.

g.

211. The letter **g** not only denotes the semi-vowel **j** (175. 2), but is also the symbol of a guttural, corresponding etymologically with the Goth. **g**. From the fact that this sound alliterates with OE. **g = j**, and that it occasionally interchanges with **j** and **h**, we are justified in inferring that it is to be regarded on the whole as a spirant, and not as a sonant stop.

212. Initially, **g** is a guttural spirant in the cases designated under 206. 1: **galan**, *sing*; **gást**, *ghost*; **gold**,

gold; **guma**, *man*; **gylden**, *golden*; **glæd**, *glad*; **gnorn**, *sorrow*; **grafan**, *grave*; probably also before æ, as in **aetgædere**, *together*. On the other hand, it is a palatal spirant before **e**, **ea**, **eo**, **i**: **geldan**, **gieldan**, *yield*; **geaf**, *gave*; **géafon**, (*they*) *gave*; **géotan**, *pour*; *gift*, *gift*, etc.

NOTE. Change to **j** is shown by **farwan**, Rush.¹ = WS. **gierwan**, North. **gearwia** (404.5); likewise by Kent. **Aethillaeardi**, Cod. Dipl., A.D. 732; **Eaniardl**, A.D. 778; **Æfelleard**, A.D. 805, for **geard**, etc.

213. Medially and finally after vowels and **r**, **l**, the pronunciation varies between guttural and palatal spirant, according to the principles laid down in 206. 5, 6: **regn**, *rain*; **rignan**, *rain*; **dæges**, *of a day*; **lagu**, *sea*; **drög**, *drew*; **beorgan**, *conceal*; **belgan**, *grow angry*. For **ge** as the representative of palatal **g** see 206. 6.

NOTE. For **g** after **r**, **l**, the digraph **ig** is not infrequently employed when the combination is preceded by **y** or **i**: **byrlig** (284), **ébylligð**, *anger*; **myrligð**, **mirligð**, *mirth*; **fylligan**, **fylgan**, *follow*, etc. The **g** is frequently dropped from this combination, according to 214. 5: **fyllað**, *fylende*, **wyriað**, etc. A **u** is sometimes introduced, though but seldom, when **u** precedes: **burug** for **burg** (284).

214. That **g** is a spirant in the positions named above will be manifest upon a consideration of the following changes:

1) In the later documents **g** final passes more or less regularly into **h** after a long guttural vowel or **r**, **l**, and after any long vowel when followed by a surd consonant which has been conjoined with it as a result of syncope: **génob**, *enough*, **béah**, *ring*, **stáh**, *ascended*, **stíhst**, *climbst*, **stílhð**, *climbs*, for **genög**, **béag**, **stág**, **stígst**, **stígð**; **beorh**, *mountain*, **burh**, *borough*, **sorh**, *care*, **yrhðo**, *cowardice*, for **beorg**, **burg**, **sorg**, **iergðu**; less frequently when it ends a syllable and is followed by another consonant: **áhléca** and **ágléca**, **díohla** from **díogol**, *gloomy*.

Occasionally, too, **g** passes into **h** after short vowels: after palatal vowels in **áwæh** (*áweh*), *weighed*; after short **a** in the foreign word **útlah**, *outlaw*; after short **o** in **getoh**, *spasm*, **hohful**, *careful*; and before consonants, as in **fuhlas**, *birds*, **fahnodon**, *rejoiced*, **ofewrohne** (for **ofewrofenne**), *clothed*, etc. In the North. dialect this change occurs most frequently in an unaccentuated syllable, as in **ðrítih**, *sextih*, **suinnih**, for **ðrítig**, *sexting*, **synnig**.

This interchange of **g** and **h** is not to be confounded with the grammatical change of these two sounds (233 ff.). Further proofs that OE. **g** is a spirant are afforded by the following equivalences. It is sometimes represented

a) by gh: **bógh**, *shoulder*; **déaghian**, *dye*; **ðwógh**, *washed*; **slógh**, *slew*; **undernágh** (for **underhnágh**), *underwent*; **brégh**, *eyelid*; **éaghðyrl**, *window*;

b) by hg: **ðwóhg**, *washed*; **gestáhg**, *ascended*; **ge-wehgen**, *proceeded*; **wíhgá**, *warrior*; **onwrihgnes**, *revelation*; **bréhg**, *eyelid*; **díhgol**, *secret*; **wóhg**, *crooked*; after **l** in **onwealhg**, *whole*; after **r** in **burhg**, *city*; **beorhgan**, *defend*; **hearhg**, *temple*; **sorhg**, *sorrow*; **sorhgiende**, *sorrowing*; **morhgen**, *morning*; **fearnbeorhgning**. An assimilation of **h-g** to **hh**, **hch**, **ch**, takes place in **néh(c)hebúr**, *-býrin*, *neighbor*; in North. the combination is represented by simple **h**: **néhebúr**.

NOTE 1. Occasionally, in later documents, **h** stands for **g** when medial between vowels: **héretoha**, *dahum*, *mahan*, for **héretoga**, *dagum*, *magan*.

NOTE 2. For final **g** as a substitute for **h** see 223. note 1.

2) When following a palatal vowel at the end of a syllable, **g** sometimes passes into **i**. This phenomenon is peculiar to Kentish, and a chief criterion of this

dialect. So already in Ep. **gréi**, **bodei**; **méihanda**, Cod. Dipl., A.D. 831; **éihwele**, **Deimund**, A.D. 832; **dei**, A.D. 837; **meiðhád**, Kent. Gl., etc., for **bodeg**, **még**, **éghwele**, **deg**, **megðhád**.

3) **g** often disappears after a palatal vowel, and when followed by one of the voiced consonants **d**, **ð**, **n**, the preceding vowel being simultaneously lengthened: **mæden**, *maiden*, **sæde**, *gesæd* (416. note 3), **lēde**, *geléð* (402), **brédan**, *brandish*, **strédan**, *dissipate* (389), **-hýdig**, *-minded*, for **sægde**, **légde**, **bregdan**, **stregdan**, **-hygdig**, etc.; **tfðian**, *grant*, for **tigðian**; **ðénian**, *serve*, **ðínen**, *handmaid*, **frínan**, *inquire*, **rínan**, *rain*, **ongéan**, *against*, for **ðegnian**, **ðignen**, *frignan*, *rignan*, *ongeagn*. Syncope of **g** likewise takes place before originally syllabic **n**: **wáén**, *wain*, **rén**, *rain*, **ðén**, *thane*, for **waegn**, **regn**, **ðegn** (though these forms are perhaps due to the analogy of polysyllables like **waénes**, **rénes**, **ðénes**). Not till a later period do we now and then encounter syncope before **l**, as in **snæl** for **snægl**, *snail*.

NOTE 3. **g** is lost after a guttural vowel, as in **frán**, **frunon**, **gefrunen**, from **frínan**, and **brudon**, **broden**, **stroden**, from **brédan** (389), but probably through the influence of the present forms with palatal vowels.

NOTE 4. Ecthlipsis of **g** between consonants takes place in **mornes**, **morne** (*merne*), gen. dat. sing. from **morgen**, *morn*.

NOTE 5. In LWS. **g** is frequently lost before **ea** in **middaneard** and **wíneard**; this may perhaps indicate a spirant pronunciation of **g**, though the spelling may be due to confusion with the substantive **eard**.

4) **ige** (from **igi**) is often contracted to **i:** **fl**, *porcupine*; **silhearwan**, *Ethiopians*; **líst**, *liest*; **līð**, *lies*; **gelfre**, *adultery*, for **igel**, **sigel-**, **ligest**, **ligeð**, *geligere*.

5) The ending **-ig** often loses its **g**, most frequently when medial, as in **syndrie**, **hëfie**, **hungrie**, for **syndrige**,

hęfige, hungrige; **męnio** for **męnigo, multitude**; but also when final: **äni, mqnifold, dysi** (frequent in later texts). The accentuated medial **fg** occasionally undergoes a similar loss: **dręe, dry**; **äflisan, put to flight**, for **dryge, äfligan**.

6) In like manner, **ig** is frequently contracted to **i** (i) when the first member of a compound word: **stírap, stirrup, stiwita, stíward, steward**, from **stígráp, stigwita, stigweard**; **wibęd** (with further change **weobędd, weofod**), **altar**, for **wigbęd, *wihbęd**.

215. The combination **ng** retains its **g** unaltered, except that it is often replaced, when final, by **-ne, -neg, -ngc**: **Uuihtherinc**, Cod. Dipl., A.D. 811; **Cymesinc**, A.D. 822; **Théodninge**, A.D. 779; **Casineg, Cillineg**, A.D. 814; **Sęleberhtineg**, A.D. 814. This **c**, etc., even forces itself into the medial position: **cyniniges, A.D. 814; swulunega, gesqmnuñegæ, Cod. Dipl., A.D. 805–831**. Even **egg** occurs: **Geddineggum, A.D. 825; Uuiginegga, A.D. 805–831**.

A similar change of medial **ng** to **nc**, when the combination is immediately followed by a surd, is not uncommon when the juxtaposition is the result of vowel syncope: **springð, springs**; **bryncð, brings**; **strēncð, strength**; **Hęnestes, beside Hęngestes**; cf. **lęneten (lenten)** for **lęngten, spring**; **geancsumian, vex**; **anxumnyssse, anxiety**. That the pronunciation was **nc** in such cases, even when **ng** was written, appears from the occasional substitution of **ng** for original **nc**: **dringð, drinks**; **đingþ, seems**, etc.

Originally medial **g** is often written as **c** after the surd **t**: **cræftca** for **cræftiga** (even **cræfca, cræftica**). Hence we must conclude that the **g** of the combination **ng** denoted the middle guttural.

NOTE. A geminated **g**, not arising from **gj**, occurs in **frogga**, *frog*, **clugge**, *bell*, **sugga**, *motacilla*; rarely **froga**, *cluege*, **sucga**.

216. In place of geminated **g** occurs **eg**, which is not simplified at the end of a word (225); before **a** (**o**) the latter is often written **cge**, before **u** rarely **egi**, since **eg** was always developed from **gj** (228): **s̄eg**, *man*, **hryeg**, *back*, gen. sing. **s̄eges**, **hryges**, nom. plur. **s̄eg(e)as**, gen. **s̄eg(e)a**, dat. **s̄egum** (**s̄egium**); besides verbs like **s̄eg(e)an**, *say*, **lieg(e)an**, *lie*, etc. According to the orthography and subsequent phonetic development, the pronunciation of the group **eg** must be regarded as that of the geminated middle palatal.

NOTE. Occasionally the manuscripts, especially the more ancient ones, have **gg** in the medial position, and even **ge** or **gēg**: **hrygge**, dat. sing.; *hyggean*, *think*; **s̄eggan** (**s̄egcan**, **s̄egegan**), etc.; more frequent is **egg**, especially in the older WS. MSS.

h (x).

217. Initial **h** is simply a breath. It occurs without limitation before vowels, and likewise in the combinations **hl**, **hr**, **hn**, **hw**, which are perhaps only to be regarded as the surd **l**, **r**, **n**, **w** (like Eng. **wh**): **hlaf**, *loaf*; **hliehan**, *laugh*; **hræfn**, *raven*; **hring**, *ring*; **hnfgan**, *bow*; **hnut**, *nut*; **hwæt**, *what*; **hwit**, *white*. Initial **h** disappears in **nabban** from **ne habban** (416, note 1).

NOTE. In the older MSS. initial **h** is sometimes lost: **æfde**, *wæt*, **ring**, for **hæfde**, **hwæt**, **hring**; and it is frequently lacking in the second syllable of compound proper names like **Ealhelm**, **Éadelm**, **Ælfelm**; and, conversely, there is now and then prothesis of **h**: **hierre**, **háemeteg**, **hláréow**, for **ierre**, **áemeteg**, **láréow**. The pronunciation actually varies, however, only in the case of the verb **hweorfan** and its derivatives, and more frequently in that of **hrað**, *quick*, adv. **hraðe**, which not only alliterates with **h**, but also with the **w** or **r**.

218. Simple medial **h**, as well as original **hw**, disappears when followed by a vowel. If two vowels thus collide, contraction usually takes place (110 ff.; 166). Examples:

- a) After consonants: **feorh**, gen. **feores**, etc. (242); **-feolan** (387), representing Goth. **filhan**.
- b) After vowels: **feoh**, gen. **féos** (242); **héah**, plur. **héa** (295. note 1), etc.; and the contract verbs (373), like **héon**, *see*, Goth. **saihwan**, etc.

NOTE. In the Epinal Gloss the **h** is still frequently retained: **thóhae**, **wlóhum**, **rýhae**, **furhum** = WS. **þó**, **wló(u)m**, **réo**, **furum**. Certain late formations constitute an exception to this rule: **hælhíht**, *full of corners*; **horheht**, *phlegmatic*, for older **horweht**. North. **genéhwia**, *approach*, is probably another exception of the same kind.

219. On the other hand, medial **h**, when geminated, and when followed by a consonant, is usually retained, and in these cases it is probably to be pronounced as a guttural or palatal spirant, like the Germ. **ch** in **ach** and **ich**.

220. Geminated **hh** is not very common: **geneahhe**, *sufficiently*; **teoh**, gen. **teohhe**, *order*; **teohhian**, *arrange*; **(h)eöhhe**, *fannus*; **gehhol**, *Yule month* (also **geohol**, **geoh(h)el**, **géola**); **cahhetan**, *croak*; **cohhetan**, *cough*; **crohha**, *saffron*; **pohha**, *pocket*; **wuhlung**, *rage*; **hliehhan** (392); North. **æhher** (289), **tæhher**, *tear*.

NOTE. The MSS. not infrequently have simple **h** instead of **hh**: **ge-neahe**, **cher**, **hreöhe**, **wuhung**, **hlíhan**. Even at times **ch**: **hreöche** (Ælf. Gr., 308. 6); **scocha**, *lenocinium*, Ep.; and **hch**; **Aehcha**, Cod. Dipl., A.D. 700–715; **teo(h)chian**, Cura Past.

221. The older combinations, **ht** (232) and **hs**, usually remain:

- 1) **ht** is common: **eahta**, *eight*; **rieht**, *right*; **ðóhte**, *thought*, and similar preterits (407); **beorht**, *bright*, etc.

NOTE 1. The oldest texts, perhaps on account of Latin influence, frequently have **et** for **ht**: **ambeect**, **gfect**, **uuyreta**, Ep.; **mæcti**, **dryetin**, Caed.; besides **cht**: **ambechtae**, **sochtae**, Ep.; **htt**: **Cynliberhttae**, Cod. Dipl., A.D. 736; **Éanberhttae**, A.D. 755–7; and **chtt**: **almechtig**, Ruthw. Simple **ht** is, however, to be found in charters of the beginning of the eighth century; **cht** is found now and then in later OE.: **betæchte**, **ælmichtig**. For the interchange of **ht** and **et** in preterits like **þrycte** and **þryhte** see 407. c.

NOTE 2. Occasionally **h** is lost, particularly after **r**: **fortian**, **wyrta**, for **forhtian**, **wyrhta**.

2) In place of older **hs** the manuscripts have **x**: **feax**, *hair*; **weaxan**, *grow*; **meox**, *manure*; **siex**, *six*; **wriexlan**, *change*; **oxa**, *ox*, for Goth. **fahs**, **wahsjan**, **maihestus**, etc.; rarely **hx**: **meohx**, etc. **x** and its substitutes are also occasionally employed to represent an **hs** resulting from vowel syncope: **gesyxt** (**gesyxst**), **néxta**.

Ecthlipsis of **h** has taken place in **néosian**, *visit* (Goth. **niuhsjan**); **ðísl**, *wagon pole* (OHG. **dfhsila**, Corp. **píxl**, Ep. **dísl**); **wæstm**, *growth* (from **weaxan**); North. **sesta**, **seista**, *the sixth*.

NOTE 3. On **x** for **es** see 209.

222. 1) Moreover, **h** (= older **h** and **hw**) maintains its ground in WS. and Kentish whenever, in consequence of vowel syncope, it is immediately followed by a surd. The chief instances are superlatives like **hfehsta**, **nfehsta** (310); abstract nouns ending in **-ðu**, like **hfehðu**, *height*, **fæhðu**, *feud* (255. 3); and the 2d and 3d sing. pres. ind. of contract verbs, like **féhst**, **féhð** from **fón** (Goth. **fahan**), **siehst**, **siehð** from **séon**, Goth. **saihwjan** (374). Not till late was **h** occasionally lost before **r**: **ferð**, *life*, instead of **ferhð**.

2) On the contrary, **h** is assimilated before **n** and **r**: **héanne**, **héarre**, **-a** (295. note 1), **híerra** (307) from **héah**; **héannis**, *height*. The **h** is frequently lost (or

gemination is simplified) not only before **n** and **r**, but also before **w**, **m**, and **l**: **bitwéonum** (Erf. **bituichn**, Ep. **bituien**), *between*; **héane**, **héare**, **héanis**; **láne**, **láenan**, *lend* (OS. **léhni**); **éorisc**, *bulrush*; **éorod**, *troop* (from **coh**, *horse*); **áwer**, *anywhere*; **áwðer**, *either*; **fléam**, *flight*, from ***flauhmo**; **léoma**, *brightness*, for **léohma**; **ýmest**, *highest*, Goth. **auhmists**; **ðwéal**, *bath* (Erf. **thuachl**, Corp. **ðhuehl**); **héalic**, *high*; **néalic**, *near*; **néalécean**, *approach*; **fálaécean**, **fálaécean**, *be at enmity*; **gemálic**, *greedy*; **pléolic**, *dangerous*; **tólic**, *tough*; even before **b**: **Héaberht**. Sometimes, however, the **h** is again introduced by analogy: **héahne**, **hféhra**, to correspond with **héah**, **hféhsta**, **gemáhlic**, **tóhlic**, etc.

For the quite different treatment of **h** in the Ps. and North. when followed by a surd, see 166. 5.

223. Finally, **h** is always preserved at the end of a word: **feoh**, *cattle, money*; **héah**, *high*; **wóh**, *wicked*; **rúh**, *rough*; **téoh**, *draw*; after consonants: **sulh**, *plough*; **Wealh**, *Welshman*; **feorh**, *life*; **furh**, *furrow*. Likewise **h** for older **hw**, as in **seah**, *saw*, Goth. **sahw**, etc.

NOTE 1. In the oldest texts the spelling is often **ch**: e.g., **t(h)rúch**, **toch**, **elch**, **salch**, **thorch**, Ep.; even **geh**: **misthágch**, Corp.; subsequently it is now and then **g** (cf. 214. 1), as in **þurg** for **ðurh**.

NOTE 2. Now and then an inorganic **h** appears at the end of a word, as in **fréoh**, *free*, **éoh**, *yew*, **bléoh**, *color*, for **fréo**, **éo**, **bléo**. This **h** is due to the example of such pairs as **féoh**–**féos**, **héah**–**héas** (218).

The Old English Consonants in General.

1) *Changes when Final.*

224. Sonant stops and spirants seem to become surd when final, or when followed by a surd consonant; nevertheless, the spelling which predominates is the etymological, which assigns the same consonant to the end of a word as to the middle. Only of sporadical occurrence, and then for the most part in very ancient sources, are forms like **lamp** for **lamb**, Kent. Gl.; **felt**, Cod. Dipl., A.D. 692-3; **Wulfhát**, **Peohthát**, A.D. 704, for **feld**, -**hád**; (an isolated later example of **t** for **d** is **sint** for **sind**; for the 3d person in -**t** instead of -**ð** see 358); -**nc** for -**ng** is more common (215); **h** for spirant **g** may almost be regarded as the rule (214. 1). Any difference in the pronunciation of **f**, **s**, **ð** eludes observation, since the same character represents both surd and sonant.

225. Gemination is simplified at the end of a syllable, only **cg** remaining intact:

1) As regards the simplification at the end of a word cf. forms like **eal**, **feor**, **m̄n**, **swim**, **sib**, **sceat**, **b̄d**, **cos**, **sæc**, **teoh**, with **ealles**, **feorran**, **m̄nnes**, **swimman**, **sibbe**, **sceattes**, **b̄ddes**, **cyssan**, **sæcces**, **teohhe**, (but **s̄cg** like **s̄cges**, 216). Still the rule is often disregarded in favor of etymological spelling, as, for example, in **eall**, **m̄nn**, **upp**, **sibb**, **b̄dd**, **bliss**, etc. (especially in the case of **ll**, **nn**).

2) Within a word: **ealre**, **ealne**, **midne**, **nytne**, compared with **eal(l)**, **ealles**; **mid(d)**, **middes**; **nyt(t)**, **nyttes**; **cyste**, pret. of **cyssan**. Yet we frequently encounter **eallre**, **eallne**, etc.

In LWS. gemination is frequently simplified

a) after a consonant: **eorlic**, **emniht**, **feltún**, **geornes**, **wildéor**, **wyrtruma**, **wyrtún**, **gærstapa**, for **eorllic**, **emnniht**, ***feldtún**, **geornes**, **wilddéor**, etc. Likewise after **u** in **rúmedlic** for **rúmmódlic**, and after **ea** in **geléaful** for **geléafful**.

b) after an unaccented syllable; thus before the suffix -lic: **atelic**, **dígolic**, **singalic**, **swutolic**, and even **déoflic**, **díglie**, etc.; in the longer case forms of derivatives ending in **n**, **l**, **t**, **r**, like the neuters **æfen**, **fæsten**, **wéstén**, the feminines **byrgen**, **lungen**, etc. (258); **swingel**; the neuters **bærnet**, **líget**, etc.; many verbs in -et(t)an, and the comparatives -erra, -era, -ra; in the acc. sing. masc. of strong past participles, and of adjectives ending in -en, like **ofslegene**, **gyldene**; in gen. plur. like **fægera**, **óðera** (**óðra**), and dat. sing. like **óþere** (**óþre**), **éowre**, etc.

NOTE. Since the geminated consonants were often written, long after the second had ceased to be pronounced, it is easy to account for such false geminates as **forenne**, **ágennes**, **ufenne**, **æðelborenné**, and even for the forms **cwlenné**, **cucenné**, etc. (303).

Inorganic geminations are likewise found in certain accentuated syllables, especially in **reccean**, **reck**, and its derivatives, for the normal **récean**, the oldest example noted being **recciléas**, Corp. 1646; so also in **lícettan**, **dissemble**, and in LWS. **þrynnes**, **þrittig**, **þreottýne**.

2) *Gemination.*

226. Every OE. consonant, except **j** and **w**, is subject to gemination (on **cg** for **gg** see 216). In respect to their origin, these geminates belong in part to Germ., in part to West Germ., and in part to OE.

227. Gemination of **l**, **r**, **m**, **n**, and **s** is frequent in Germanic. Examples are:

ll: *eall, all; feallan, fall; full, full.*

rr: *feorran, far; steorra, star.*

nn: *onginnan, begin; m̄n, m̄nnes, man.*

mm: *swimman, swim; hw̄qm, hw̄ommes, corner.*

ss: *gewis(s), certain; wisse, knew; cyssan, kiss (232).*

Less frequent are the following:

kk (cc): *bucca, buck; loc, locces, lock; stoc, stocces, stock.*

tt: *sceat, sceattes, coin.*

pp: *crop, croppes, crop; top, toppes, top; hnæp, hnæppes, bowl.*

Germanic ðð is doubtful: on the one hand there is OE. oððe, *or*, Goth. aip̄pau; on the other OS. efðo, Fris. ieftha; so WS. moððe, *moth*, but North. mohðe, -a. No examples are found of Germ. ff (?), hh, bb, dd, gg.

228. West Germanic gemination before j. All simple consonants in West Germ., with the exception of r, undergo gemination after a short vowel, through the influence of following j. Thus Goth. saljan, skapjan, satjan, rakjan, are represented by OS. s̄ellian, skēp-pian, s̄ettian, rēkkian, and, after the loss of the j (177) by OE. siellan, scieppan, s̄ettan, rēcc(e)an. The place of fj is taken by OE. bb: hēbban, *heave* (Goth. hafjan), and gj is represented by cg: lēcg(e)an (Goth. lagjan). As stated above, r is not geminated: hēre, hērges, army; wērian, *defend*; nērian, *save*; hērian, *glorify* (Goth. harjis, warjan, nasjan, hazjan, etc.).

NOTE 1. The chapters on inflection contain numerous examples of this gemination, e.g., among the jo- and já-stems (247; 258; 297), among the weak verbs of the first and third classes (400 ff.; 415), etc.

NOTE 2. For the interchange of forms with and without gemination, in the conjugation of verbs with the derivative suffix -jo, see 410.

229. There is a similar gemination of **t, c, p, h**, before **r** and **l** in certain OE. words, though it does not occur uniformly: **bittor, bitter, snottor, wise; wæccer, watchful; North. æhher, ear of grain, tæhher, tear; æppel, apple; along with bitor, snotor; wacor; éar, téar** (from *ahur, *tahur, 111); cf. Goth. **baitrs, snutrs, ahs, tahrjan**. So likewise, though probably not in the older texts, when the **r, l** has been conjoined with the preceding consonant as the result of syncope: thus, **bættra** beside **bætra, better** (Goth. **batiza**); **miccles** beside **micles**, from **micel** (Goth. **mikils**).

NOTE. This irregularity presumably depends upon the fact that, before gemination had taken place, the **r** and **l** were sometimes syllabic, and subsequently passed into -ur, -ul, etc. (138 ff.). The older declensional forms must then, for example, have been nom. **bitur** (from ***bitr**), gen. **bittres, téar** (from ***tahur**), gen. **tæhhres**, etc.; and these gave rise to the double series **bittur - bittres** and **bitur - biteres**, etc.

230. After a long vowel no such gemination of **r** takes place in the older texts. Gemination of **tt** and **dd** occurs at a later period, accompanied, as is probable, with the shortening of the vowel: **ædre, vein, blædre, bladder, nædre, viper, módrie, aunt, become æddre, blæddre, næddre, moddrie**. In like manner there is an interchange of **átor, venom, hlútor, clear, túdor, posterity, fódar, fodder, módor, mother, with attor, hlutter, tuddor, foddor, moddor**, in which the **tt, dd** owe their origin to the cases which had no middle vowel (144), like **átres**, etc. More recent is the gemination of other consonants, in forms like **ricra, deoppra**, from **rice, rich, déop, deep**.

231. Other OE. geminates depend upon the conjunction of two consonants which were originally separated.

Here belong (disregarding the conjunction of similar final and initial consonants in compound words) the **tt** from **tð**, **dð** (202. 3), and the **tt** and **dd** of weak preterits (404 ff.).

NOTE. In North, moreover, geminates very frequently occur side by side with simple consonants, without any assignable cause: **eatta**, *eat*, **cymma**, *come*, for **eata**, **cyma**, etc.

3) *The Combinations ft, ht, st, ss.*

232. The following rule was already in force in Prim. Germ.: Every labial + t is changed to **ft**, and every guttural + t to **ht**; but a dental + t becomes either **st** or **ss**. OE. examples are:

a) Of **ft**: **scieppan**, *create*, **gesceaft**, *creature*; **giefan**, *give* (*i.e.* **giebán**, 192. 2), *gift*, *gift*; **ðurfan**, *be allowed*, **ðearft**, **ðorfte** (422. 6).

b) Of **ht**: **hyegan**, *hope*, **hyht**, *hope*; **ágan**, *own*, **magan**, *be able*, 2d sing. **áht**, **meaht** (420. 2; 424. 10), the noun **meaht**, *might*; but especially the weak preterits (407).

c) Of **st**: **wát**, *wot*, 2d sing. **wást**; **lifðan**, *go*, **lást**, *pathway*; **hladan**, *lade*, **hlæst**, *load*.

d) Of **ss**: **witan**, *know*, pret. **wisse**, *gewis(s)*, *certain*; **cweðan**, *say*, **qndewis(s)**, *answer*; **sittan**, *sit*, **sess**, *seat*.

NOTE. The choice between **st** and **ss** depends upon the original accentuation.

The preceding rule does not apply when the **t** has been conjoined with the preceding labial, guttural, or dental, as the result of OE. syncope.

4) Grammatical Change.

233. By "grammatical change" is to be understood an interchange of the medial surd spirants **s, f, ð, h, hw** with the corresponding sonant spirants, designated by **z, þ, ð, g, w** (but sometimes **g**), the interchange in question being a feature of Primitive Germanic, and taking place according to definite laws. The combinations **ss, st, sp, sk, ft, ht**, were not subject to this change.

NOTE. The explanation of this interchange was discovered by K. Verner (Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxiii. 97 ff.). According to the law which he formulated, the sonant spirant always replaced the surd when the vowel next preceding did not, in the original Indo-European system, receive the principal accent.

234. In OE. the original correspondences are more or less obscured by the fact that some of the sounds have undergone modifications. Thus **hw** passed into simple **h** (cf. 222 ff.), and, like the latter, has frequently disappeared (218). Of the sonants, **z** passed into **r**, the older **ð** (not to be confounded with the OE. **ð = p**, 199) became **d**, and the sound of **þ** is not graphically distinguished from **f** (192). There consequently remain in OE. only the four couples **s - r**, **ð - d**, **h - g** (**h - ng**, according to 185), and **h - w**. Examples are:

a) **s - r**: *glæs, glass, glæren, vitreous; céasan, choose, céas, curon, coren* (384); *durran* (422. 7), *dare, dearst, dorste, adj. gedyrstig, bold*.

b) **ð - d**: *eweðan, say, cwæð, cwédon, eweden* (391), *cwide, discourse; līðan, journey, -lida, -farer*.

c) **h - g**: *sléan, strike, sliehst, sliehð, slög, slógon, slægen* (392), *sleȝe, stroke, -slaga, slayer; héah, high, dat. héagum* (295. note 1); *ðéon, thrive, ðáh, ðungen* (383. note 8).

d) h - w: **séon**, *see* (Goth. *saihwani*), **siehst**, **siehð**,
seah, **sáwon**, **gesewen** (391).

NOTE. The regularity of this interchange has been somewhat obscured in OE. as the result of analogy. Special instances will be noticed under the head of Inflections.

INFLECTION.

PART I.—DECLENSION.

Declension of Nouns.

A. VOCALIC OR STRONG DECLENSION.

1) THE o-DECLENSION.

235. The OE. o-declension comprises masculines and neuters. It corresponds to the second or o-declension of Greek and Latin (Gr. masc. -ος, neut. -ον, Lat. -us, -um). The corresponding feminines form the a-declension.

NOTE. The Germ. o-declension is usually designated as the a-declension, since older o has generally become Germ. a. In OE, however, we may still presuppose the existence of o in final syllables (45. 4).

The o-stems may be subdivided as follows: simple o-stems, jo-stems, and wo-stems, the two latter groups differing, as respects certain cases, from the pure o-stems.

236. The terminations of the masculines and the neuters are the same in all cases except the nom. and acc. plur., and may therefore be included in the same scheme.

NOTE. In North. the gender often varies between masc. and neut.; cf. also 251. note.

237. The terminations of the o-stems are:

SINGULAR.	PLURAL.	
N. A. V.	MASC.	NEUT.
— (-e; -u, -o)	-as	-u, —
G. -es		-a
D. -e		{ -um
I. -e		

The parenthetical **-e**; **-u**, **-o** of the nom. acc. sing. are the terminations of the **jo-** and **wo-**stems (246; 249).

NOTE 1. In the oldest texts, and frequently in the North. dialect, the gen. sing. is formed in **-aes**: **dómaes**, etc. For **-aes** the North. sometimes has **-as**. For later **-ys** see 44, note 2.

NOTE 2. The dat. and instr. sing. are, in the majority of texts, identical in form, but in the oldest documents the dat. ends in **-æ**, while the instr. (at first probably a local) ends in **i**: **dómae**, **dómi**; subsequently, **y** is now and then found for **i**: **föley**, etc. The instr. seems originally to have had **i**-umlaut; cf the isolated form **hwéne**, from **hwón**, *trifle*, and the instr. **áne**, from **án**, *one*. A dat. loc. sing. without inflectional ending exists in **hám** (very rarely **háme**), from **hám**, *home*.

NOTE 3. In North. the nom. plur. of many masculines belonging to this declension have also the weak ending **-o** (-**a**, -**e**), **gástas** and **gásto**, etc.

NOTE 4. The gen. plur. in North. is often formed in **-ana**, **-ona**, after the manner of the **n**-stems: **dagana**, **-ona**, **lomana**, from **dæg**, **lím**. Such forms (**dagena**, **godena**) occur but rarely in EWS., but are more common in LWS. MSS. A few gen. plur. in **-o** occur.

NOTE 5. In the nom. acc. plur. of neut. nouns **-u** is the older, **-o** the more recent form. Ps. has almost exclusively **-u**, North. for the most part **-o**, but occasionally **-a**; all three terminations occur in North., even in such neutrals as are without endings in the other dialects (238). In LWS. the **-u**, **-o** is generally replaced by **-a**.

NOTE 6. The dat. sing. masc. and neut., and the whole dat. plur., frequently substitute **-on**, **-an** for **-um** in LWS.

a) Simple o-stems.

238. Paradigms of the masculine and neuter:

MASCULINE.		NEUTER.
Sing. N. V. A. dóm		geoc word
G. dómes		geoces wordes
D. dóme		geoce worde
I. dóme		geoce worde
Plur. N. V. A. dómas	geocu , -o	word
G. dóma	geoca	worda
D. dómum	geocum	wordum

Like **dóm** are inflected primarily the monosyllabic masculines; like **geoc** the monosyllabic neuters with a short radical syllable; and like **word** those having a long radical syllable.

239. To this declension belong a great number of OE. nouns, and among them not a few which have been transferred to it from other declensions (especially long **i-** and **u-**stems; cf. 264 ff.; 273).

1) Only those words are inflected with entire regularity which have an invariable final consonant and a radical vowel incapable of change (except for **i**-umlaut, which need not here be considered). Such words are:

a) **Masculines:** **áð**, *oath*; **hæft**, *captive*; **helm**, *helmet*; **hring**, *ring*; **wulf**, *wolf*; **earm**, *arm*; **eorl**, *man*; **múð**, *mouth*; **dréam**, *joy*, etc.

b) **Neuters:** a) short monosyllables: **col**, *coal*; **dor**, *door*; **hof**, *dwelling*; **loc**, *lock*; **hop**, *recess*; **lot**, *cunning*; **sol**, *slough*; **spor**, *trail*. b) long monosyllables: **bán**, *bone*; **bearn**, *child*; **déor**, *animal*; **fýr**, *fire*; **gód**, *good*; **líf**, *body*; **wif**, *wife*, etc. In LWS. the ending -u of the short stems is assumed by the long stems: **bánu**, **sádu**, etc.

2) Nouns, whose radical syllable ends in a geminate, simplify the latter in the cases without inflectional ending (225): masc. **weal(l)**, *wall*, **hwqm(m)**, *corner*; neut. **ful(l)**, *cup*, gen. **wealles**, **hwqmmes**, *fulles*, etc.

The remaining nouns of this declension come under one of the following rules:

240. Words with **æ** before a simple consonant, like the masculines **dæg**, *day*, **hwæl**, *whale*, **pæð**, *path*, **stæf**, *staff*, the neuters **bæð**, *bath*, **cræt**, *crate*, **dæl**, *dale*, **hæf**, *ocean*, **sæl**, *hall*, **stæð**, *shore*, **swæð**, *track*, **scræf**, *cavern*,

træf, tent, wæd, sea, wæl, those slain in battle, change the æ into a throughout the plural: **dæg – dagas, daga, dagum : fæt – fatu, fata, fatum**; only seldom does æ remain: **stæðu, scræfu**, etc. In like manner, æ before a single consonant becomes a in the plural: **mæg – mágas, mága, mágum** (57. II.).

NOTE 1. Generally in the Ps., and occasionally in North., the short a is represented by ea: *featu, creatum*, etc. (160). In the Ps. the plur. of *deg* is *dægas* (162). For WS. ea see 105. The plur. of *geat, gate*, is frequently *gatu*, but in poetry usually *geatu*; other examples are *heafu* and *treafu* (cf. 105).

NOTE 2. *gærs* forms the plur. *grasu* (cf. 179). In LWS. the a of the plur. intrudes even into the gen. dat. sing.: *baþe, paðe, staþe*, fate, gate, scrafe.

241. The neuters with e, i before a single consonant, like *gebed, prayer, gebrec, clamor, geset, habitation, gesprec, conversation, brim, surf, clif, cliff, hlið, lid, lið, limb, scip, ship, geflit, dispute, genip, darkness, gewrit, writing*, etc., originally have eo, io in the plur. instead of e, i (106 ff.). This is frequent even in later texts: *gebeodu, cliofu, lioðu, liomu*, etc., along with *gebedu, clifu, limu*, etc.

NOTE. The gen. plur. is the first to lose the eo, io. In the Ps., and to some extent in North., its occurrence is extended to the masculines, e.g., *woras, weora, weogas* (usually *wegas*, according to 164), North. *wearas, waras, -a*, etc. (156. 3).

242. Words in h lose this sound before a vocalic ending: masc. *ealh – eales, temple; colh – coles, elk; fearh – feares, swine; feorh – feores, life; mearh – meares, horse; sealh, willow; seolh – seoles, seal; Wealh – Weales, Welshman* (218). If the h is preceded by a vowel, the loss of the h leads to contraction, according to 110 ff.: *hóh, hough* (plur. *hós, hóas, dat. hóum*); *scéoh, scóh, shoe* (plur. *scéos, scós*, LWS. gen. plur. *scéona*); neut.

eoh—**éos**, *horse*; **feoh**—**féos**, *money* (275); **fláh**, *fraud*; **fléah**, *flea*; **pleoh**, *danger*; **slóh**, *slough*; **ðéoh**—**ðeos**, *thigh*; **þroh** (?), *malice*; **wóh**, *evil*.

NOTE 1. Not infrequently a nom. acc. sing. is formed without **h**, according to the analogy of the dissyllabic cases; forms like **fear**, **feor**, **mear**, **féo**, **wó**, are therefore to be met with, besides those cited above. The EWS. **holh**, *hole*, becomes **hol** in LWS., and forms the plur. **holu**.

NOTE 2. The masc. neut. **horh**, *filth*, exhibits grammatical change: nom. **horh** (**horg**), gen. **horwes**, instr. **horu**, nom. acc. plur. **horas**.

NOTE 3. Occasionally the gen. plur. is formed in **-na**: **féona**, **scéona**, **þéona**.

243. The polysyllabic words of this declension are subject to the following rules:

1) Neuters originally trisyllabic (*i.e.*, before the operation of the law concerning final vowels, 130 ff.), like **nífeten**, *cattle*, **héafod**, *head*, **wolcen**, *cloud*, have **u** in the nom. acc. plur., like the short monosyllables: **nífetenu**, **héafodu**, **woleenu**. On the other hand, such as were originally dissyllabic, like **wápen**, *weapon*, **tungol**, *star*, **tácen**, *token* (for **wápn**, **tungl**, **tácn**, according to 138 ff., stem **wépno-**, **tunglo-**, **taikno-**), sometimes take no ending in the nom. acc. plur., and sometimes take **u** after the manner of the trisyllables: **wáp(e)nu**, **tunglu**, **tácuu**.

2) The laws concerning the treatment of middle vowels (143 ff.). Under these are included the following:

244. Dissyllabic words having a long stem syncopate the vowel of the last syllable before a vocalic ending (144) when it is not rendered long by position: **ęngel**—**ęngles**, *angel*; **tungol**—**tungles**, *star*; **átor**—**átres**, *venom*; **tácen**—**tácnes**, *token*; **máðum**—**máðmes**, *jewel*; **héafod**—**héafdes**, *head*; **áeled**—**áeldes**, *fire*; but **hęngest**

— **hengestes**, *stallion*; **færeld** — **færeldes**, *journey*; **fætels**
 — **fætelses**, *purse*, etc.

The older documents do not exhibit syncope of the originally trisyllabic nom. acc. plur. neut., like **nſetenu**, **héafodu** (144. b); while, on the other hand, they have **wæpnu**, **tunglu** (along with **wæpen**, etc., 243). In later texts these words are likewise syncopated: **héafdu**, etc.

NOTE. For **morgen** — **mornes** cf. 214. note 3. Nouns ending in **els** are usually masculine, but occasionally neuter.

245. Under similar circumstances, dissyllabic words having a short stem retain the original vowel of the second syllable, but reject it whenever it arose from syllabic nasal or liquid in the nom. acc.; only **-er**, **-or**, from syllabic **r**, remains (148). Hence **stapol** — **stapoles**, *pillar*; **hamor** — **hamores**, *hammer*; **heofon** — **heofones**, *heaven*; **daroð** — **daroðes**, *arrow*; **meotod** — **meotodes**, *God*; **heorot** — **heorotes**, *hart*; but **fugol** — **fugles**, *fowl*; and likewise **leger** — **legeres**, *lair*; **ðunor** — **ðunores**, *thunder*, etc.

b) jo-stems.

246. Paradigms for the masculine nouns are: **hære**, *army*; **sæcg**, *man*; **ende**, *end*. For the neuter: **cyn**, *kin*; **rice**, *realm*; **wéstén**, *desert*.

MASCULINE.

Sing. N.V. A.	hære	sæcg	
G.	hær(1)ges	sæcges	ende
D.	hær(1)ge	sæge	endes
I.	hær(1)ge	sæge	ende
Plur. N.V. A.	hær(1)g(e)as	sæcg(e)as	endes
	G. hær(1)g(e)a	sæcg(e)a	enda
8.	D. hær(1)gum	sæcg(1)um	endum

	NEUTER.	
Sing. N.V.A. <i>cyn(n)</i>	<i>rīce</i>	<i>wéstén</i>
G. <i>cynnes</i>	<i>rīces</i>	<i>wéstén(n)es</i>
D. <i>cynne</i>	<i>rīce</i>	<i>wéstén(n)e</i>
I. <i>cynne</i>	<i>rīce</i>	<i>wéstén(n)e</i>
Plur. N.V.A. <i>cyn(n)</i>	<i>rīc(i)u</i>	<i>wéstén(n)u</i>
G. <i>cynna</i>	<i>rīc(e)a</i>	<i>wéstén(n)a</i>
D. <i>cynnum</i>	<i>rīc(i)um</i>	<i>wéstén(n)um</i>

NOTE 1. For the *e* of the nom. acc. sing. the oldest texts have *i*: *hēri*, *ēndi*, *rīci*.

NOTE 2. For the insertion of *e*, *i*, to denote the palatal pronunciation of *g*, *c*, see 206. 6.

247. *hēre* and *sēcg* exhibit the inflections of the masculines, *cyn(n)* those of the neuters with a short radical syllable before the *jo* (stem *harjo-*, *sagjo-*, *kunjo-*), and *wéstén* that of the derivative neuters ending in *-en* and *-et*. Of these, *hēre* is the only one which has retained its short syllable, as the others doubled the final consonant in West Germ. (228). Further examples of this declension are:

a) Masculines: *hrycg*, *back*; *wēcg*, *wedge*; *dyn(n)*, *din*; *hyl(l)* (later fem.), *hill*.

b) Neuters with a short radical syllable: *nēt*, *net*; *flet*, *floor*; *bēd*, *bed*; *wēd*, *pledge*; *gied*, *saying*; *nēb*, *beak*; *wicg*, *horse*, etc.

c) Derivative neuters in *-en* and *-et*: *āfen*, *evening*; *fæsten*, *fastness*; *ānet*, *solitude*; *bærnet*, *conflagration*; *emnet*, *plain*; *grāfet*, *trench*; *hīewet*, *quarry*; *līeget*, *lightning*; *nierwet*, *strait*; *onālet*, *lightning*; *réwet*, *rowing*; *slæget*, *blow*.

NOTE 1. For the simplification of West Germ. geminates at the end of a word cf. 225.

NOTE 2. The gen. sing. of *hēre* sometimes occurs as *hēres*, the dat. instr. sing. as *hēre*, and the nom. acc. plur. as *hēras*. For the neut. *spere* see 262.

NOTE 3. The neut. *hég, hay*, stem *haujo-*, has retained the *j* in all its forms as *g*; likewise masc. *bríg, pottage*, along with *bríw*; stem *blíjo-, color* (OS *blí*, neut.), occurs as *bléo*, neut. (and with inorganic *h* as *bléoh*, 223, note 2), gen. *bléos*, etc., dat. sing. *bléoge*, dat. plur. *bléom, bléoum, bléowum*, gen. *bléo*, also *bléona*.

248. Like *ende* are declined the masculines, like *ríce* the neuters with an originally long syllable before the *jo* (or *io*, according to 45. 8): *e.g.*, the masc. *csne, servant*, *hierde, herdsman*, *læce, physician*, *méce, sword*, and the numerous agent-nouns in *-ere* (North. frequently *-are*), like *bócere, scribe*, *fiscere, fisherman*, *ðrówere, martyr*, to which has been added the foreign word *cásere, emperor*; then the neuters *wáge, cup*, *wíte, punishment*, *stycce, piece*, *árendé, errand*; formations with *ge-*, like *gewæde, clothing*, *gemierce, boundary*, *getimbre, carpentry*, *gescié (gescý)*, *shoes*, and many others.

c) *wo-stems.*

249. The paradigm for the masculine is *bearu, grove*; for the neuter, *searu, armor* (stems *barwo-*, *sarwo-*).

MASCULINES.		NEUTERS.
Sing. N. V. A.	<i>bearu, -o</i>	<i>searu, -o</i>
	<i>G. bearwes</i>	<i>searwes</i>
D.	<i>bearwe</i>	<i>searwe</i>
I.	<i>bearwe</i>	<i>searwe</i>
Plur. N. V. A.	<i>bearwas</i>	<i>searu, -o</i>
	<i>G. bearwa</i>	<i>searwa</i>
	<i>D. bearwum</i>	<i>searwum</i>

So likewise are inflected the masc. *heoru, sword* (doubtful, cf. 271); and the neuters *bealu, evil*; *meolu, meal*; *smeoru, lard*; *teoru, tar*; *ewudu, cud*.

NOTE 1. An *o* or *e* often occurs before the *w* in the oblique cases, the latter being generally found when the termination contains an *a, u*: *bealowes, -we*, but *bealewa, bealewum*.

NOTE 2. In LWS. there occur the nom. sing. **meluw**, **smeoruw**, and the plur. in **-wu**, **-wa**, e.g. **searwa**. Of **teoru** there likewise occur the weak acc. **taran** and **tyrwan** (umlaut form).

250. Words with a vowel before the **w** exhibit various discrepancies:

1) The long-stemmed masculines *snáw* (likewise *sná*, 174. 3), *snow*, *hláw*, *hlæw* (orig. neut.), *funeral-mound*, *bríw*, *pottage* (247. note 3), *ðéaw*, *custom*, *déaw*, *dew* (masc. neut.), *béaw*, *gadfly*, *béow*, *grain* (neut.), retain the *w* in all cases (cf. 174. 3); to these must be added the neut. *oncléow* (*andcléow*), *ankle*, and the words formed by the prefix *ge-*, such as *gehéaw*, *quarry*, *gehréow*, *penitence*, *gehlów*, *bellow*, *séaw* (*séa*), *sap*.

2) The neuters *tréo*, *tree*, *cnéo*, *knee*, and the masc. *ðeo*, *servant* (st. *trewo-*, *knewo-*, *ðewo-*), are declined as follows:

WS.	Ps.	NORTH.	RUSH. ¹
<i>Singular :</i>			
N.A. tréo(w)	trew	{ tré, tréo, treu(o); ðea	{ tréow, treuw (tree); cneu, cnéo
G. tréowes	—	—	tréowes
D. tréowe, tréo	tréo	tré, tréo	tréo, tree
I. tréowe	—	—	—
<i>Plural :</i>			
N.A. { tréow(u), tréo; { tréow, tréo; { tréo, drew; ðéowas { enéow { cnew, eneo, cnعوا; { cnewa; { ðéas; { ðén (Rit.)			
G. tréowa	tréa	treu(a)na; ðéana	tréona
D. tréowum	—	{ tre(w)um; { cne(u)um, cnéoum	{ tré(ow)um; { cnéom

NOTE 1. Like *þéow* are declined the WS. compounds *láttéow*, *leader*, *láréow*, *teacher*; besides, there is in WS. a wk. masc. *láttéowa*, *láréowa* (276). *hléo*, *protection*, which only occurs in the sing., has a rare form *hléow*.

NOTE 2. Goth. *hralw*, neut. *corpse*, is OE. *hrá*, *hráw*, *hráé*, *hráew*; gen. *hráés*, nom. acc. plur. *hrá*, *hráew*, *hréaw*, gen. *hrá*, dat. *hráewum*. From the stem *strauwo-*, neut. *straw*, is formed the WS. *stréa*, North. *stré* L., *streu* R.¹ (cf. the compound *stréa-*, *stréawberie*), gen. *strees* L.; other cases are not found.

NOTE 3. Stem **glíwo-**, neut. *glee*, forms the nom. **glíg** (Ep. *glíu*, poetic texts *gléo*), gen. **glíwes**, etc., through all the cases with **w** (nom. acc. plur. not found). From the stem **hlwjo-**, *appearance*, the WS. nom. is, on the contrary, generally the neut. **hfew**, **híw**, more rarely **héo** (North. *hlú*); but the gen. is again **hfewes**, dat. **hfewe**, etc., along with **héowes**, **héowe**, etc.; the word is also sometimes fem.

2) THE **á**-DECLENSION.

251. The **á**-declension contains the feminines corresponding to the masculines and neuters in **-o**.

NOTE. In North. many of these fem. are also employed as neut. and masc., and then conform to the inflections of these genders (**236.** note).

a) Simple **á**-stems.

252. Paradigms:

- a) of short stems, **glefu**, *gift*;
- b) of long stems, **ár**, *honor*.

SHORT STEMS.		LONG STEMS.
Sing. N.V.	glefu , -o	ár
G.	glefe	áre
D.	glefē	áre
A.	glefo	áre
I.	glefe	áre
Plur.	N. glefa , -e	ára , -e
	G. glefa , -ena	ára , -ena
	D. glefum	árum
	A. glefa , -e	ára , -e

NOTE 1. The oblique cases of the sing. and the nom. acc. plur. end in **e** in the oldest texts; only sporadically does the dat. instr. exhibit **-i**, as in **ródi**, **cæstrí**, in which it is probably borrowed from the **o**-declension (**237.** note 2). For the declension of abstract nouns in **-ung** see **255. 1.**

NOTE 2. In Lind. and Rit. these fem. have **-es** in the gen. sing., like the masc. and neut.: **ródes**, **sáules**, **sqmnunges**, etc. The same is true in LWS.: **sorges**, **helpes**, etc.

NOTE 3. In WS. and Kent. the nom. acc. plur. regularly ends in **-a**; not, however, in the Ps. In North. there is, besides, a weak form in **-o** (**253.** note 2).

NOTE 4. In the gen. plur. -a is the proper and usual termination (cf. Goth. *gibō*), while -ena has been foisted in from the weak declensions, occurring in WS. and Kent. only in certain short stems (such as *carena*, *frēmena*, *gīfena*, *lufena*); very rarely in long stems (*árena*, *lárena*, *sorgena*). In Cura Past. -ena is entirely wanting. A shorter form, -na, with syncope of the -e, is occasionally found, as in *lárna*, *sorgna* (276. note 1); for alternative forms of -ena in North. cf. 276. note 2.

253. As examples of short stems may be adduced *cearu*, *caru*, *care*; *sceomu*, *sceamu*, *shame*; *cwalu*, *death*; *laðu*, *invitation*; *swaðu*, *track*; *sacu*, *persecution*; *ðracu*, *combat*; *wracu*, *persecution*; *qndswaru*, *answer*; *dēnu*, *valley*; *frēmu*, *benefit*; *ðegu*, *reception*; *scolu*, *shoal*; *lufu*, *love*, etc.

NOTE 1. The two nouns whose stems exhibit i-umlaut, *dēnu* and *frēmu*, originally belonged to the i-declension, and corresponded, as short stems, to the long stems of 268 and 269. The dat. acc. sing. *ealdorlēge*, *feorhlēge*, *caldornēre*, *feorhnēre*, point to nominatives **lēgu* and **nēru*, which, together with **hylu*, *hollow* (dat. acc. *hyle*), probably fall under the same head. All these nouns, however, have conformed to the á-declension, and are only recognizable as original i-stems by the umlaut-vowel of the stem.

NOTE 2. Besides *giefu(m)*, *gifu(m)*, *gyfu(m)*, there occurs, especially in the Ps. and North., *geofu(m)* with u-umlaut (106). In the Ps. and North. the words with original a have ea in the nom. sing. and dat. plur., according to 160 (*qndswearu*, -um, etc.). In the cases which terminate in -e, the a of the root is often replaced by æ, particularly in the words which contain e: *sæce*, *ðræce*, *wræce*, but also *læðe*, *swaðe*, as well as *sace*, *laðe*, *swaðe*, etc.

NOTE 3. In LWS. the u of the nom. is frequently extended to the other cases of the sing., so that the latter is apparently indeclinable. In North., too, all cases except the gen. and dat. plur. assume -o, -u (even -a, -e). On the other hand, Lind. and Rit. sometimes form the gen. sing. in -es: *gefes*, *lufes*, etc. (252. note 2).

254. The number of feminines with a long stem is very considerable. Examples of monosyllabic words are: *feoh*, *fight*; *fōr*, *journey*; *glōf*, *glove*; *heall*, *hall*;

lár, lore; meare, boundary; sorg, care; stund, time; ðrág, while; wund, wound; with a derivative consonant, *ádl* (later neut.), *disease*; *nádl*, *needle*; *frófor* (later masc.), *consolation*; *wócor*, *growth*; *ceaster*, *town*. Here belong also the abstract nouns in **-ung**, **-ing**, like *leornung*, *-ing* (see 255. 1).

NOTE 1. For *duguð*, *geoguð*, see 269. note 4.

NOTE 2. **sneardh* (*sner*), *harpstring*, has the gen. *sneare*. *léah*, *lea*, sometimes has the gen. dat. acc. sing. *léa*, but more frequently *léage*; subsequently it is often masculine: gen. *léas*, *léges*, dat. *léa*, *lége*, nom. acc. plur. *léas*.

255. The following peculiarities of this declension still remain to be noted:

1) The WS. and Kent. abstracts in **-ung** have in the dat. sing., and even in the gen. and acc. sing., the termination **-unga** instead of **-unge**: *leornunga*, *costunga*, etc.

NOTE 1. In the Ps. there is still a gradation of the vowel, so that the dat. plur. ends in **-ingum**, while the other cases have **-ung**.

2) Dissyllabic words with a long stem syllable and simple final consonant syncopate the vowel of the final syllable in the oblique cases, according to 144, while those with a short stem retain it: *sáwol* – *sáwle* (*sáule*), *soul*; *frófor* – *frófre*, *consolation*; *wócor* – *wócre*, *usury*; but *firen* – *firene*, *sin*; *ides* – *idese*, *wife*, etc.

3) The abstracts in Goth. **-iþa**, originally trisyllabic, have in the nom. sing. the ending **-u**, **-o**, like the short stems, but subsequently assume a shortened form in **-ð**: *eyððu* and *eyð(ð)*, OHG. *cundida*, *race, kinship*; *strëngðu* and *strëngð*, *strength*; *gesyntu*, OHG. *ga-suntida*, *power, health*; *oferméttu*, *arrogance*, OHG. **ubarmuotida*; and *weorðmynt*, original **-mundiþa**, *honor*. Both forms intrude gradually into the oblique

cases of the sing., especially into the acc., which originally had only -e.

NOTE 2. This usurpation on the part of the -u is presumably caused by the abstracts in -u (279).

NOTE 3. Among other words whose basic form is trisyllabic, there occur, as it would seem, only nominatives which resemble the long stems: **sawol**, Goth. **salwala**, *soul*; **firen**, Goth. **fairina**, etc.

b) **já-stems.**

256. The originally short stems have all become long by the gemination of the consonant which preceded the **j** (228), and their declension no longer differs from that of the stems originally long. The terminations are those laid down in paragraph 252, so far as no express statements to the contrary are made below.

257. Paradigms: for stems originally short, **sib(b)**, *peace*; for stems originally long, **wylf**, *she wolf*.

Sing. N.V. sib(b)	wylf	Plur. N.V. sibba , -e	wylfa , -e
G. sibbe	wylfe	G. sibba	wylfa
D. sibbe	wylfe	D. sibbum	wylfum
A. sibbe	wylfe	A. sibba , -e	wylfa , -e

NOTE 1. For the simplification of the West Germ. geminates when final cf. 225.

NOTE 2. In later documents there is sometimes to be found an acc. sing. without inflectional ending, like **sib**, **wyn**, etc.

NOTE 3. The **já**-stems never take a gen. plur. in -ena (252. note 4).

NOTE 4. The declension of the simple **á**-stems differs from that of the simple **já**-stems only in the possession of the weak gen. plur., and in the absence of the **i**-umlaut of the radical syllable. They are distinguished from the long **i**-stems (268 ff.) by the acc. sing. in -e.

258. Among the monosyllables which are declined like **sibb** are the following: **bēn**, *wound*; **brycg**, *bridge*; **cribb**, *crib*; **ȝeg**, *edge*; **fit**, *song*; **hell**, *hell*; **hen**, *hen*; **nyt**, *advantage*; **sæcc**, *contest*; **sēcg**, *sword*; **sill**, *sill*.

To these must be added, so far as regards the gemination of a final consonant before a vocalic ending, certain derivatives in -l and -n, like *condel*, *candle*, *gyden*, *goddess*, *wiergen*, *she wolf*, *byrðen*, *burden*, *ræden*, *arrangement* (gen. *condelle*, *wiergenne*, *byrðenne*, etc.) ; the abstract nouns in -nes, gen. *nesse* (like *hálignes*, *holiness*) ; and a few feminines in -es (-is), like *haegtes*, *witch*, *forlegis*, *adulteress* ; besides WS. *cnéoris*, gen. *cnéorisse*, *generation*.

With *wylf* are to be classed *bend*, *band* (also masc.), *cýll*, *leathern bottle*, *eax*, *axe* (?), *gierd*, *yard*, *hild*, *battle*, *hind*, *hind*, *hyð*, *booty* ; and the derivatives in -s, like *blisðs*, *bliss*, *bliss*, *lifðs*, *liss*, *favor*, *milds*, *milts*, *compassion*.

NOTE. With the short stems are also to be classed *lfegit(t)u*, *lightning*, *lefset(t)u*, *swan*, *hyrnit(t)u*, *hornet*, plur. *lfeget(t)e*, etc. In *feg* (ég, fg, ON. ey, eyjar) the derivative J is retained as g. OE. *éowu*, *ewe*, *þéowu*, *handmaiden* (Goth. awl, *þiwl*), have become assimilated to the short á-stems by taking the same ending in the nom. sing.

c) wá-stems.

259. Paradigms : *beadu*, *battle* ; *máed*, *mead*.

Sing. N. <i>beadu</i>	<i>máed</i>	Plur. N. <i>beadwa</i> , -e	<i>máedwa</i> (<i>máeda</i>)
G. <i>beadwe</i>	<i>máed</i>	G. <i>beadwa</i>	<i>máedwa</i> (<i>máeda</i>)

Like *beadu* are inflected the short stems with a consonant before the w: *nearu*, *distress*; *sceadu*, *shadow* (more frequently declined like *giefu*, 255) ; *sinu*, *sinew* ; and the plur. *tant*. *geatwe*, *arms*, *frætwe*, *ornaments*. Like *máed* is declined *lás*, a long vowel being here followed by a consonant. Both words exhibit irregularities in the oblique cases, the thematic w being sometimes retained and sometimes lost.

NOTE. Occasionally a parasitic vowel appears before the **w**: **beadowe**, **nearowe**, **geatewe**, **frætewum**. In the Leyden Riddle there occurs a dat. plur. **geatum** without **w**.

260. Nouns with a long vowel or diphthong before the **w** retain the **w** in the nom. sing. In OE. the following words belong to this class: **stōw**, *place*; **hréow**, *repentance*; and **tréow**, *faithfulness*. Their inflection is nom. **stōw** (**stōu**), gen. **stōwe**, etc.

NOTE. In consequence of contraction, the following words exhibit slight variations: **éa**, *water* (from *ahuu, *au, Goth. ahwa); **þréa**, *threat, throe* (from *þrauwu, *þrau, cf. Ep. thrauu, OHG. drouwa); and **cléa**, **cléo**, *claw* (from *kláwu, *kláu, OHG. kláwa). The gen. sing. of **éa** (originally consonant stem) occurs as **éas**, and the dat. sing. as **fe**; and we have the dat. plur. **éam** (**éaum**), **þréam** (**þréaum**), and even the weak nom. acc. plur. **éan**. Of **cléo** there is only the acc. plur. **cléo**, **cléa**; but, besides, **cláwu** is regularly declined like **glefu**, though the dat. plur. is **clám**.

3) THE i-DECLEMNSION.

261. The **i**-declension of OE. is chiefly confined to masculines and feminines. A few words which were originally neuter, like **mære**, **mene**, **ele** (and **bere**, **ege**, **hete**, **sige**, see **263.** note 4), have passed over to the masculine gender.

With the exception of **spere** (no doubt originally a **u**-stem), the nouns of this declension have in all cases **i**-umlaut, if the radical syllable will admit; this often furnishes the only test by which to distinguish these words from those of the **o**-declension, with which the masculines have much in common.

The masculine and neuter nouns comprise both short and long stems; the former end in **-e** in the nom. acc. sing., the latter in a consonant. The feminines include

only long stems, the short stems being indistinguishable from à-nouns, except for traces of umlaut (253. note 1).

a) *Masculines and Neuters.*

1) *Short Stems.*

262. Paradigms: masc. **wine**, *friend* (Germ. **wini-z**) ; neut. **sife**, *sieve* (Prim. Germ. **siþi-z**).

MASC.	NEUT.	MASC.	NEUT.
Sing. N.V. A. wine	sife	Plur. N.V. A. wine , -as	sifu
G. wines	sifes	G. wina , winig(e)a	sifa
D. wine	sife	D. winum	sifum
I. wine	sife		

263. Like **wine** are declined the masculines **bere**, *barley*, **dene**, *valley*, **ele**, *oil*, **hefe**, *weight*, **hege**, *hedge*, **mene**, *necklace*, **mête**, *food*, **sèle**, *hall*, **stede**, *place*, **hæle**, *man*, **hype**, *hip*, **hyse**, *youth*, **ryge**, *rye*, **byre**, *son*, **ciele**, *coolness*, **hyge**, *mind*, **pyle**, *pillow*, **ðyle**, *orator*, **dile**, *dill*, **wlite**, *countenance*; the plural **Dene**, *Danes* (sing. in the compound **Healfdene**) ; and a great number of verbal abstracts: like **drēpe**, *stroke*, **stæpe**, *step*; **ēce**, *ache*; **ēge**, *terror*, **slēge**, *slæge*, *blow*; **hēte**, *hate*; **aethrine**, *touch*; **gripe**, *grip*; **blice**, *exposure*, **stice**, *stitch*, *pain*; **sige**, *victory*, **oftige**, *subtraction*; **bite**, *bite*; **cwide**, *speech*, **scride**, *step*, **slide**, *fall*, **snide**, *incision*, **stride**, *stride*; **(ge)byre**, *event*, **cyre**, *choice*, **dryre**, *fall*, **gryre**, *horror*, **hryre**, *fall*, **lyre**, *loss*; **swile**, *swyle*, *tumor*; **cyme**, *coming*; **bryne**, *burning*, **dyne**, *din*, **ryne**, *course*; **scyfe**, *shove*; **drype**, *blow*; **bryce**, *breach*; **byge**, *bend*, **flyge**, *flight*, **lyge**, *lie*; **gyte**, *inundation*, **scyte**, *shot*, etc. ; and the abstracts in *-scipe*, *-ship*, like **fréondscipe**, *friendship*.

Like **sife** are declined **gedyne**, *din*, **gedyre**, *door post*, **gemyne**, *care*, **gewile**, *will*, **ofdèle**, *ofdæle*, *declivity*, **oferslēge**, *lintel*, **wlæce**, *tepidity*.

NOTE 1. In the oldest texts the sing., with the exception of the gen., ends in **i** (cf. 246, note 1).

NOTE 2. The proper termination of the nom. acc. plur. is **-e**, older **-i** (cf. Goth. **gasteis**, and 44, note 1); the termination **-as** is borrowed from the o-declension, although it is more common than **-e**. In the gen. plur. the form in **-a** is by far the more common. The ending **-ig(e)a**, **-ia**, is only found in **Dēnig(e)a**, **wiñig(e)a**.

NOTE 3. A few words go over more or less completely to the jo-declension, by doubling the simple consonant at the end of the radical syllable (cf. 228 and 247), and dropping the **-e** in the nom. acc. sing. Thus WS. **mête** regularly forms the plur. **mëttas** (more rarely a sing. **mëtt**, **mëttes**), **hyse** has **hysas** and **hyssas** (likewise in the sing. **hysses**, etc.). Parallel with **dyne** occurs **dynn**, **dynnes**; and parallel with **gewile**, **gewill**.

NOTE 4. **bëre**, **ege**, **hëte**, **slge** were, without doubt, originally neuters in **-iz** (cf. Goth. ***bariz-** in **barizeins**, **agis**, **hatis**, **sigis**), but passed over to the masculine gender, as stated above.

NOTE 5. In North. there are no essential variations from the declensional forms of the other dialects, if we except the shortening of the few words like **wilt**, *countenance*, **mët(t)**, *food*; the nom. acc. plur. of the latter word is found as **mëtas**, R.², and weak **mët(t)o**, L.

NOTE 6. The short i-stems differ from the short jo-stems like **hëre** (246) by the uniform absence of **-i(z)-** in certain cases of the sing. and plur., and in part by the different terminations of the nom. acc. plur. They differ from words like **sëcg** (246), whose stem has become long, by possessing the **-e** in the nom. acc. sing. and plur., as well as the single consonant at the end of the radical syllable.

NOTE 7. In the declension of the short i-stems is to be included the plur. **tant**. **-ware**, *-people*, like **Rómware**, **Cantware**, etc. (besides **-waras** and weak **-waran**). This is to be regarded as originally a plur. of the sing. **-waru**, *people* (252).

2) Long Stems.

264. The masculines have dwindled to a scanty remnant, and these are found only in the plural; cf. the paradigm **Engle**, plur. *Angles* (Prim. Germ. **Angli-**).

- Plur. N.V.A. **Engle**
- G. **Engla**
- D. **Englum**

Thus are declined a few proper nouns like **Dére**, *Dære*, **De-rians**, *Beornice*, *Bernicians*, **Se(a)xe**, *Saxons*, **Mierce**, *Mercians*, **Norð(an)-**, *Stúð-hymbre*, *Northumbrians*, etc., besides the foreign words **Créee**, *Perse*, *Egipte*; also, the plurals **ielde**, *yldes*, *men*, **ielfe**, *elves*, **lēode**, *people*. Finally, there are a number of words, originally belonging to other declensions, which take in the nom. acc. plur. either -as or -e, -a: such are **wæstmas**, *wæstme*, *fruits*; **clommas**, *clomme*, -a; **bendas**, *bende*, -a, *bonds*; **glengas**, *glenge*, -a, *ornaments*; **gimmas**, *gimme*, *gems*; **heargas**, *hearge*, -a, *temples*; besides **līgetas**, *līgete*, -a, *lightnings*; **weleras**, *welere*, *lips*; **æplas**, *æppla*, *apples*.

NOTE. A few of the gentile nouns, particularly **Seaxe** and **Mierce**, are occasionally inflected according to the weak declension. Only one form is at all common, that of the gen. plur. in -na (276. note 1): **Seaxna**, **Mierena**.

265. The other masculines belonging under this head have assumed the endings of the o-declension, and hence differ from the o-stems only in respect to etymology, the i-umlaut of the radical syllable, and the palatalization of final gutturals (206. 6). Paradigm: **wyrm**, *worm* (Prim. Germ. *wurmi-z*).

Sing. N.V. wyrm	Plur. N.V. wyrmas
G. wyrmes	G. wyrma
D. wyrme	D. wyrmum
A. wyrm	A. wyrmas
I. wyrme	

266. Here belong **bielg**, *bag*, **dæl**, *part*, **fierst**, *time* (LWS. neut.), **fyrs**, *furze*, **giest**, *guest*, **hyll**, *hill*, **lyft**, *air* (sometimes fem., LWS. neut.), **mæw**, *sea-mew*, **stęng**, *pole*, **stręng**, *string*, **öyrs**, *giant*, **waég**, *wave*, **wiell**, *well*, and a series of verbal nouns like **līeg**, *flame*, **swęg**, *clamor*,

réc, reek, smíec, smíc, odor, feng, grasp, sténc, stench,
swéng, blow, wrénc, wrench, trick, drync, drinc, drink,
dynt, dint, stiell, jump, swylt, death, cierr, turn, cierm,
clamor, wyrp, cast, hwyrf, turn, sleht, slaughter,
flyht, flight, hyht, hope, tyht, instruction, byrst, calamity,
ðyrst, thirst, árist, resurrection, brygd, brandishing, etc.

NOTE 1. For forms like *swéngas* instead of *swéngas*, see 206. 6.

NOTE 2. *lyft* and *árist* also occur as feminines (269, note 4). So, too, there is fluctuation in *sé, sea* (Goth. *salws*), gen. *séas*, dat. *sé*, nom. acc. plur. *séas*, gen. *séwa*, dat. *séwum*, *sém*, and fem. gen. dat. sing. *sé*, *séas*, and *séwe*, etc.

267. Of the neuter gender are the following: *gehygd, thought, gemynd, mind, oferhygd, arrogance, gewyrht, deed, wiht, wuht, creature, geðyld, patience, gecynd, gebýrd, nature, árist, resurrection, fulluht, baptism, lyft, air, forwyrd, destruction, genyht, abundance, gesceaft, creature, geðeaht, thought*, which also occur as feminines (269), and perhaps were originally confined to that gender. They follow the declension of *cynn* (246) or *word* (238), but have in the nom. acc. plur. *gehygdu, gemyndu*, etc.

NOTE. To the foregoing singulars must be added the plurals *gedrihtu, elements, gehyrsto, trappings, gliftu, nuptials, wistu, samwistu, dainties*.

b) Feminines.

268. Paradigm: bén, petition (Prim. Germ. bóni-z).

Sing. N.V. bén	Plur. N.V. bénē, -a
G. bénē	G. bénā
D. bénē	D. bénūm
A. bén	A. bénē, -a
I. bénē	

269. Thus are declined **bēne**, *bench*, **cwén**, *woman*, **dryht**, *host*, **hýd**, *skin*, **lyft**, *air*, **níed**, *need*, **tíd**, *tide*, **þryð**, *strength*, **wén**, *hope*, **wiht**, *wuht*, *thing*, **fulluht**, *baptism*, **wyrd**, *fate*, **wyrt**, *herb*, **root**, **bysen**, *example*, **æ(w)**, *law*, and many verbal-abstracts (with the original suffix -ti): e.g., **dáed**, *deed*, **fierd**, *army*, **gléd**, *gleed*, **spéd**, *success*, **gehygd**, *thought*, **gecynd**, *gebyrd*, *nature*, **genyht**, *abundance*, **gemynd**, *mind*, **gewyrht**, *deed*, **geðyld**, *patience*, **æht**, *property*, **miht**, *might*, **gesceaft**, *creature*, **geðeaht**, *thought*, **ést**, *grace*, **wist**, *sustenance*, **ýst**, *storm*, **æríst**, *resurrection*, etc.

NOTE 1. The endings of this declension are the same as those of the á-declension, except in the acc. sing., which in the former has -e. In North. this termination is introduced into the i-declension at an early period, and to a considerable extent; in WS. and Kent. it makes its appearance later, and is at first comparatively rare. Examples are: **tíde**, **cwéne**, etc.

NOTE 2. The genuine oldest termination of the nom. acc. plur. is -i (**mæcti**, Cædmon's Hymn, cf. Goth. **mahteis**), which subsequently became -e (44). Notwithstanding, there is an early intrusion of -æ from the á-declension (**uuyrdae**, Ep.).

NOTE 3. æ is indeclinable in the nom. acc. plur.; in the sing. is found a gen. æs, besides the gen. dat. sing. æwe, in agreement with which there is formed a nom. acc. æw. For sé, see 266. note 2.

NOTE 4. lyft and ærlist are also masc. (266. note 2); gehygd, gemynd, gewyrht, wiht, wuht, geðyld, gecynd, gebyrd, ærlist, fulluht, lyft, genyht, gesceaft, geðeaht, are also neuter (267). **duguð**, *virtue*, **geoguð**, *youth*, and **ídes**, *woman*, which would regularly belong to the i-declension, in OE. follow the á-declension (252); **séon**, **sýn**, *face*, **onséon**, *view*, frequently have in WS. the acc. sing. **séon**, but in Ps. and North. always take -e, according to the á-declension (**onsfene**, Ps.).

NOTE 5. In North. many of these feminines appear also as neuters (cf. 251. note). Among deviations from the regular inflectional types are to be noted the gen. sing. in -es of Lind. and Rit., **tídes**, **dédes**, etc.; and the weak plur., as in nom. acc. **tído**, **dédo**, gen. **tídana**, **dédana**, etc.

4) THE U-DECLENSION.

a) *Masculines.*

1) Short Stems.

270. Paradigm: **sunu, son** (Prim. Germ. **sunu-z**, Goth. **sunus**).

Sing. N.V.	sunu, -o	Plur. N.V.	suna, -u, -o
G.	suna	G.	suna
D.	suna, -u, -o	D.	sunum
A.	sunu, -o	A.	suna, -u, -o
I.	suna		

271. The number of words which follow this declension is quite limited: **heoru, sword**, **lagu, lake**, **magu, boy**, **meodu, mead** (subsequently neut.), **siodu, custom**, **spitu, spit**, **wudu, wood**, besides the poetical **breogo, prince**. The words **friðu, peace**, and **lioðu, limb** (Goth. **friþus, liþus**), no longer occur as u-stems, except when the first member of compound words; in independent use are found the fem. **friðu** (cf. 279), the neut. **frið** (cf. 239. 1), and the neut. **lið**. So also for Goth. **skadus, shadow**, OE. has the fem. **secaðu** and the neut. **scæd** (cf. 253; 240).

NOTE. The gen. sing. subsequently has the termination **-es**, as in the o-declension, e.g., **wudes**, and similarly the nom. acc. plur. **-as**: **wudas, sunas**.

2) Long Stems.

272. Words with a long stem dropped the w in the nom. acc. sing., according to 134, and thus became assimilated to the o-stems, whose inflection they then to some extent assumed. Their inflection is as follows:

Sing. N.V.A.	feld	Plur. N.V.A.	feldas
G.	felda, -es	G.	felda
D.	felda, -e	D.	feldum
I.	felda, -e		

273. Traces of this declension are still to be perceived in the words *eard*, *country*, *éored*, *troop*, *feld*, *field*, *ford*, *ford*, *gár*, *javelin*, *hád*, *rank*, *hearg*, *idol*, *temple*, *weald*, *forest*; the dissyllabic *sumor*, *summer*, *winter*, *winter*; and possibly *hærfest*, *autumn*, and *frumsceaft*, *creation*. The other words which formerly belonged to the u-declension have completely passed over to the o-declension: *ár*, *messenger*, *déað*, *death*, *feorh*, *life*, *flód*, *flood*, *lóð*, *wine*, *scield*, *shield*, *þorn*, *thorn*, *wág*, *wall*, *hungor*, *hunger*, etc. = Goth. *airus*, *dauþus*, *fairhwus*, *flódus*, *leiþu*, *neut.*, *skildus*, *þaúrnus*, *waddjus*, *húhrus*.

NOTE 1. In North. there are still found the datives *háda*, *déoða*, *wønga*, and even a few examples of original o-stems, like *binna*, *bin*.

NOTE 2. Examples of the gen. sing. in -a are: *háda*, *Licetfelda*, *wihtgára*, *wintra*. The dat. instr. in -a is still common in the older texts, but is subsequently replaced by the -e of the o-declension.

NOTE 3. *winter*, which is always of the masc. gender in the sing., so far as can be determined, takes in the nom. acc. plur. the neuter forms, *wintru* and *winter*.

NOTE 4. The u is retained in the form *aetgaéru* of the Ep. Gloss. (Erf. *aetgáru*), as in the Runic *flódu* and *olwfþolþu*.

b) Feminines.

274. Of these there are but few remaining, the most important being *duru*, *door*, and *hǫnd*, *hand*. Their declension is as follows:

Sing. N.V.A.	<i>duru</i>	<i>hǫnd</i>	Plur. N.V.A.	<i>dura</i> , -u	<i>hǫnda</i>
G.	<i>dura</i>	<i>hǫnda</i>	G.	<i>dura</i>	<i>hǫnda</i>
I.D.	<i>dura</i> , -u	<i>hǫnda</i> , <i>hǫnd</i>	D.	<i>durum</i>	<i>hǫndum</i>

NOTE 1. Other relics of this declension are: *nosu*, *nose*; *cweorn*, *quern*; *flór*, *floor*; and *worold*, *world*. Case-forms of these words are dat. *nosa*, acc. *nosu*; dat. *cweorna*; dat. *flóra*; dat. *worulda*. *worold* has almost entirely passed over to the i-declension, and the others fluctuate: dat. acc. sing. *nose*; dat. *cwyrne*, *cweornan*; dat.

flôre, acc. **flór**, **flôre**; dat. **worolde**, etc.; even gen. **dûre**, dat. **dure**, **dyre**, **dyru**. Beside **nosu**, etc., is found **nasu**.

NOTE 2. **dûru** and **nosu** are perhaps relics of an earlier dual. Here may likewise be mentioned the form **sculdrú** (**sculdro**), dual of the masc. **sculdor**, and the neut. **bréost**, perhaps originally a dual.

c) *Neuters.*

275. There is no longer an independent u-declension of neuters in OE. The sole relics are Ps. North. **feolu**, **feolo**, and WS. **feola**, **fela**, *much* (the former a stereotyped nom. acc., the latter perhaps a stereotyped form of the other cases). Goth. **faihu**, *cattle*, is WS. Kent. **feoh**, **féo**, North. **feh**, which belongs wholly to the o-declension (242).

B. WEAK DECLENSION (n-Stems).

276. The three genders are scarcely distinguishable, except in the nom. voc. sing. (with which the neut. acc. is identical); the masc. ending is -a, the fem. -e or -u (279), and the neut. -e. Paradigms are: masc. **guma**, *man*; fem. **tunge**, *tongue*; neut. **éage**, *eye*.

MASCULINE.	FEMININE.	NEUTER.
Sing. N.V. guma	tunge	éage
G. guman	tungan	éagan
D. I. guman	tungan	éagan
A. guman	tungan	éage
Plur. N.V. A. guman	tungan	éagan
G. gumena	tungena	éagena
D. gumum	tungum	éagum

NOTE 1. In certain texts -on is found for -an. The gen. plur. more rarely ends in -ana, -ona (cf. note 2, end); still other occasional endings are -ra (strong), -enan, and -an. Long stems in r and g, seldom any others, are apt to syncopate the e in WS.: **árna**, **lárna**, **ćarna**, **sorgna**, **éagna**.

NOTE 2. The final -n is discarded in North. (in part preserved in R.¹), and the vowels of the final syllable are subject to considerable variation.

The masc. nom. usually has -a, more rarely -e, -æ; gen. dat. acc. sing. and nom. acc. plur. in certain words uniformly -a, in others -a, -o, or -u (the latter particularly in R.²), less frequently -e, -æ; besides, Lind. and Rit. often form a strong gen. sing. in -es, -æs, more rarely a nom. acc. plur. in -as.

The feminines are still more irregular: nom. sing. generally -e, sometimes -a; gen. -a, -e, but also -es, -æs, Lind. and Rit.; dat. acc. sing. -a, -e; nom. acc. plur. -a, -o, -e, or, following the strong masculines, -as. In distinction from the rest, **eorðu**, *earth*, has, for the most part, -u, -o instead of the other final vowels enumerated above, this being always the case in the nom. sing., except in R.¹, which still possesses a few forms in -an, even in the fem. Moreover, the feminines are prone to pass over to the neut. gender.

The following forms of the neut. occur in North. and Mercian: nom. dat. sing. **éare**, *ear*; nom. acc. plur. **éaro**; dat. -um; nom. gen. dat. sing. **égo**, *eye*; acc. **égo** (-e); nom. acc. plur. **égo**; dat. -um.

The gen. plur. termination of all these genders is regularly -ena, though -ana, -ona, are frequently found, rarely -una, and, indeed, now and then -a, as in the strong declension.

1) *Masculines.*

277. Like **guma** is declined a great number of words, such as **góma**, *palate*, **hóna**, *cock*, **móna**, *moon*, **nefa**, *nephew*, **sefa**, *mind*, **téona**, *injury*, **créda**, *creed*; but especially many agent-nouns, like **bóna**, *murderer*, **hunta**, *hunter*, **wíga**, *warrior*, etc.

NOTE 1. **oxa**, *ox*, has in nom. acc. plur. **œxen**, *exen*, as well as **oxan**; gen. **oxna**, dat. **oxum**, and rarely **oxnum**. The plural **híwan**, *higan*, *members of a family*, forms a gen. **hína**, as well as **hígna**.

NOTE 2. **fléa**, *flea* (perhaps fem.), **fréa**, *lord*, **gefá**, *enemy*, **geféa**, *joy*, **léo**, *lion* (North. **léa**, gen. **léas**), ***scéo**, *leg*, **twéo**, *doubt* (North. **tuá** and **tula**, cf. 156. 3), **þréa**, *threat*, **Swéon**, *Swedes*, and **rá**, *roe*, systematically contract the vowel of the radical syllable with that of the derivative syllable into the vowel á or the diphthongs éa, éo: gen., etc., **fréan**; gen. plur. **Swéona**, dat. **Swéom**. The declension

of **léo** is as follows: sing. nom. **léo**; gen. **léo**, **léon**, **léonas**; dat. **léone** (**léonan**); acc. **léon**, **léona**; plur. nom. **léon**; gen. **léona**; dat. **léonum**; acc. **léon**. The dat. plur. **léoum** is an exceptional form (cf. 110. note 1).

2) Feminines.

278. The number of feminines which are declined like **tunge** is smaller than that of the masculines. Examples are: **eorðe**, **folde**, **hrúsc**, *earth*, **heorte**, *heart*, **sunne**, *sun*, **méowle**, *maiden*, **nædre**, *viper*, **swealewe**, *swallow*, **bune**, *cup*, **ceole**, *throat*, **clife**, *burdock*, **cliðe**, *poultice*, **cwene**, *woman*, **cwice**, *quitch-grass*, **myre**, *mare*, **piose** (**pyse**, *pise*), *pease*.

NOTE. Contractions (as in 277. note 2) are exhibited by **béo**, *bee* (North. **bla**, Ps. plur. **blan**), **céo**, *chough*, **réo**, *covering*, **séo**, *pupil*, **dá**, *doe*, **flá**, *arrow*, **tá**, *toe*; gen., etc., **béon**, **séon**, **flán**, etc. (**tá** has gen. **tán** and **táan**, dat. plur. **tánum**, and **séo** the dat. plur. **séoum**). Other forms of **réo** are **réowe**, **réowu**, acc. plur. **réowan**.

279. As respects their origin, the abstracts in **-u**, **-o**, such as **brædu**, *breadth*, **hælu**, *salvation*, **mængu**, *mænigo*, *multitude*, **strengu**, *strength*, **ieldu**, *age*, belong to the weak declension, since they correspond to Goth. weak nouns in **-ei**, like **managei**, *multitude*. They have, however, taken the nom. sing. ending **-u** from the **a**-declension, and thus rid themselves entirely of the old inflectional forms. Their declension is as follows:

Sing. N. strengu , -o	Plur. N. A. strengē , -a ; -u , -o ,
G. strengā	G. strengā
D. strengē ; -u , -o	D. strengum
A. strengē	

Other feminines which, though not abstracts, have adopted the same nominative ending, **-u**, are: **cinu**, *fissure*, **fønu**, *standard*, **faðu**, *paternal aunt*, **hosu**, *hose*, **hracu**, *throat*, **moru**, *parsnip*, **peru**, *pear*, **spadu**, *spade*,

sporu (Béow. 986), *spur*, **swiopu**, *whip*, **þrotu**, *throat*, **wucu**, *week*, and perhaps **lqnu**, *lane*. These all have a short radical syllable, and take -n regularly in the oblique cases.

NOTE 1. The abstracts are mostly indeclinable in the sing., that is, they end in -u, -o in all cases. Plurals are hardly ever found. The nom. acc. sing. has occasionally a shortened form, **yld** for **yldo**, *age* (cf. 255. 3). **lufu** (253) is frequently weak, and is then classed with **cinu**, etc., above.

NOTE 2. Here again Lind. and Rit. have likewise a gen. in -es, like **ældes**, **snytres** = WS. **feldu**, **snytru**.

NOTE 3. The older final -i of the abstracts still shows itself in the constant umlaut of the radical syllable, as well as in the palatalization of preceding gutturals: **mēnigeo**; **strēng eo**.

NOTE 4. The short-stemmed feminines with the nominative ending in -u are not found in the earliest texts, such as the Epinal and Corpus glossaries: Ep. **morae**, **throtæ**; Corp. **more**, **þrote**.

3) Neuters.

280. The only words which are certainly declined like **éage** are **éare**, *ear*, and **wōnge**, *cheek*, and perhaps **úhte**, *dawn*; **heorte** has become feminine (Prim. Germ. **hertón**, neut.).

NOTE. For the North. declension of **éare** and **égo** see 276. note 2.

C. MINOR DECLENSIONS.

1) MONOSYLLABIC CONSONANT STEMS.

a) *Masculines.*

281. Paradigm: **fót**, *foot*.

Sing. N.V. A.	fót	Plur. N.V. A.	fét
G.	fótes	G.	fóta
D.	fét	D.	fótum
I.	fóte , fét		

282. Thus are declined **tóð**, *tooth*, plur. **téð**; **món(n)**, *man(n)*, plur. **mén(n)**; **ós**, gen. plur. **ésa**; and likewise in part the dissyllabic **hæleð**, *hero*, **mónað**, *month*, **aloð**, *ale*.

NOTE 1. Besides **mónn**, there is also a weak masc. **mónna**, *manna*, declined according to 276, but occurring, for the most part, only in the acc. sing. Proper names in -**món** take the dat. -**mónne**: *Colemónne*, *Gearomónne*. (In North. the acc. is always **mónno** in L.; **mónnu**, rarely **mónn**, in R.) From **fót** there is formed a plur. **fótas**; so the plur. of **tóð** is sometimes **tóðas** in LWS., and even once in the Ps.; in North. occurs the dat. sing. **tóðe** and the gen. plur. **tóðana**.

NOTE 2. **hæleð** and **mónað** have a nom. acc. plur. without termination, along with **hæleðas** (**hæleðe**) and **món(e)ðas**. In the sing. they are regularly inflected according to the o-declension. **aloð**, which is perhaps neut., has nom. and gen. sing. **aloð**, no other forms being known to occur.

b) Feminines.

283. The gen. dat. sing. and nom. acc. plur. have no inflectional terminations, but exhibit i-umlaut wherever phonetic laws admit of its occurrence. Paradigm: **bóc**, *book*.

Sing. N.V.A. bóc	Plur. N.V.A. béc
G. béc	G. bóca
D. béc	D. bócum

284. Thus are declined **gát**, *goat*, **grút**, *grout*, **ác**, *oak*, **bróc**, *trousers*, **góð**, *goose*, **wlóh**, *fringe*, **sulh**, *plough*, **turf**, *turf*, **burg**, *borough*, **furh**, *furrow*, **lús**, *louse*, **mús**, *mouse*, **þráh**, *trough*, **cú**, *cow*, **niht**, *night*, ***dung**, *prison*, and the dissyllabic **mægeð**, *maid*, besides the proper names **Cént**, **Cert**, **Í**, **Tenet**, **Wiht**, the latter adding -e in the gen. sing.

NOTE 1. **bóc** very rarely occurs as neut. **wlóh** is assigned to this declension, on account of the North. plur. **wloeh**. **sulh** has the nom. sing. **sul**, gen. plur. **sula**, dat. **sulum** (218). **burg** (more anciently, and in North., also **burug**) has in the gen., etc., usually **byrlig** in place

of the older and less common **byrg**; subsequently the word is also declined like **bén** (268), only without umlaut; gen. dat. sing. **burge**, nom. acc. plur. **burge, -a**. As the second element of a compound proper name, it invariably follows the latter declension: dat. **Wérburge**; acc. **Æþelburge, Éadburge, Seaxburge, Wérburge**.

cú has gen. sing. **cú, cý, cús**, nom. acc. plur. **cý, cýe, gen. plur. cúna, cýna**. **niht** (*næht, neaht*), and **mægeð, mægð**, are invariable in the whole sing. and the nom. acc. plur., on account of the failure of umlaut. **niht** has, however, a gen. **nihtes**, used for the most part only adverbially, and almost certainly to be regarded as masculine; subsequently there occurs the gen. dat. sing. **nihte**.

NOTE 2. A gen. sing. ending in -e, like **burge**, note 1, is not uncommon: **bóce, cíue, gáte, áce, góse, míuse**. Datives without umlaut now and then occur: **áce, burh, Þrúh, furh, grát**.

NOTE 3. The short-stemmed nouns of this declension take **u** in the nom. acc. sing., following the analogy of the **á**-declension: **hnitu, nit; hnudu, nut; studu, prop., column**. These have acc. plur. **hnite**; gen. sing. **hnyte, hnute**, dat. sing. **hnyte**, gen. plur. **hnuta, hnutenā**, dat. plur. **hnutum**, acc. plur. **hnyte**; dat. sing. **styde, stude, studa**. Parallel forms to **studu** are **stuðu** and **stod** (*stoð*).

NOTE 4. Foreign names of places are usually indeclinable: **Mailros, Melrose; Gend, Ghent; Rín, Rhine; Paris**.

2) STEMS IN -r.

285. The names of relationship in **-r, fæder, father, bróðor, brother, móðor, mother, dohtor, daughter, sweoster, swuster, sister** (together with the pluralia tantum **gebróðor, brethren, and gesweostor, sisters**), are thus inflected in WS. and Kent.:—

Singular—

N.V.A. fæder	bróðor	móðor	dohtor	sweostor
G. fæder, -res	bróðor	móðor	dohtor	sweostor
D. fæder	bréðer	méder	dehter	sweostor

Plural—

N.V.A. fæd(e)ras	{ bróðor, - þru	(móðru), - a	{ dohtor, - tru, -tra	sweostor
G. fæd(e)ra	bróðra	móðra	dohtra	sweostra
D. fæd(e)rum	bróðrum	móðrum	dohtrum	sweostrum

NOTE 1. Instead of -or is not infrequently found -er (but -or is never found for -er where -er is given above); rarely -ar, especially Kent.

NOTE 2. In LWS. a gen. sing. méder, dehter, sometimes occurs; and a dat. bróðer, dohtar.

NOTE 3. In Ps. and North. the umlaut forms are bréðer, méder, déhter.

3) STEMS IN -nd.

286. To this group belong present participles used as nouns (for the inflection of the participles themselves see 305 ff.). Paradigms: **fréond**, *friend*; **hettend**, *enemy*.

Sing. N.V.A.	fréond	hettend
	G. fréondes	hettendes
	D. fréonde	hettende
	I. fréonde	hettende
Plur. N.V.A.	fréond , fréond	hettend , -de
	G. fréonda	hettendra
	D. fréondum	hettendum

287. Like **fréond** are declined **féond**, *enemy* (plur. **fiend**, **féond**, gen. **féonda**); **góddón**, *benefactor* (plur. **góddénd**, El. 359); and the plur. tantum **geffend**, **gefriend**. The dissyllables, like **ágend**, *owner*, **démend**, *Judge*, **hælend**, **nærgend**, *saviour*, **wígend**, *warrior*, are all declined like **hettend**, that is, take the adj. ending in the gen. plur.

NOTE 1. The terminations of the o-declension have become predominant in the sing.; of rare occurrence are such forms as dat. instr. sing. **fréend**, **fiend**. In the nom. acc. plur. there often occurs **hettende**, beside **hettend**, according to the adjective declension; and sometimes, even in EWS., the termination -das. In North. and in poetry the forms **féondas**, **fréondas** (**fiondas**, **frondas**), are to be met with.

NOTE 2. In LWS. a plur. in -dras occurs, evidently modelled upon the gen. plur.: **wírcendras**, **wealdendras**, etc. Fluctuation between the feminine and the other genders is found in **swelgend**, *whirlpool*, **wealdend**, *ruler*, **féond**, *enemy*.

4) STEMS IN -OS, -ES.

288. These correspond to the Gr. neuters in -ος, Lat. -us, -eris. In OE. they are quite limited in number, arising in part from the fact that a few have entirely lost the s (cf. 182; 290. note 3). They may be divided into two classes.

289. The first class comprises those words which retain, under all circumstances, the r from original s: *salor, hall*; *wildor, beast*; *sigor, victory*; *dógor, day*; *halor, salvation*; *hryðer, hríðer* (subsequently also *hrúðer*), *cattle*; *éar, ear of corn* (from *ahur, North. *cher, æhher*).

These words have, in the main, passed over into the o-declension, and hence are declined according to 238, 244 ff.; yet there sometimes occurs a dat. instr. sing. without inflectional termination: *dógor, hróðor, sigor*, North. *cher, æhher*, along with frequent *dögore, hróðre*, etc. Plural forms are *dógor, hryðeru, éar*.

NOTE. *sigor* is usually regarded as masc., but probably without sufficient reason. In North. two nom. acc. plurals of *cher* are formed: *ehera* and *ehras*.

290. The second class is formed by the words *lqmb, lamb*; *cealf, calf*; *æg, egg*; *scear, ploughshare*; *bréad, bread*; *læw, thigh*; and the plur. *haeteru, garments*. These have cast off the r in the sing., but retain it in the plur. (yet *lqmbor, -er*, sometimes occurs as a sing., according to 243). The declension is therefore:

Sing. N. A.	<i>lqmb, lqmbor</i>	<i>cealf</i>	<i>æg</i>
G.	<i>lqmbes</i>	<i>cealfes</i>	<i>æges</i>
D. I.	<i>lqmbe</i>	<i>cealfe</i>	<i>æge</i>
Plur. N. A.	<i>lqmboru, lqmb</i>	<i>cealfru</i>	<i>ægru</i>
G.	<i>lqmbra, lqmba</i>	<i>cealfra, cealfa</i>	<i>ægra</i>
D.	<i>lqmbrum</i>	<i>cealfrum</i>	<i>ægrum</i>

NOTE 1. The sing. of these words sometimes has i-umlaut; so always Ps. **cælf**, North. **cælf** and **celf**, and more rarely **lēmb** as well as **lomb** (cf. also **hrýðer**, from ***hrunþiz**). In Ps. North. the nom. acc. plur. is also written **calfur**, **lombur**, -or, as well as **calferu**, -ero, **lomberu**, -(o)ru. An umlaut form **cylf** occurs in WS. in the compound **cylf-hóngra**.

NOTE 2. **cild**, *child*, is in general declined like **word**, 238, and hence has plur. **cild**, etc. (North. also **cilda**); yet sometimes there occurs a plur. **cildru**. Moreover, **cild** is now and then masc. in North., and then forms the plur. **cildas**. The plur. **hámedru** occurs once: Haupt Gl. 525.

NOTE 3. To the s-stems belonged originally the OE. masc. **bere**, **ège**, **hête**, **sige** (263. note 4); of long stems, apparently **hæl**, *welfare*, **hréð**, *fame*, **dæg**, *day*, **hríð-**, *cattle*, along with **hálor**, **hróðor**, **dógor**, **hríðer**; and probably **clæð**, **cláð**, *cloth*, **felt**, **felt**, **fléah**, *a disease of the eye*, **flésc**, *flesh*, **flyð**, **fléos**, *fleece*, **hilt**, **hilt**, **hláw**, **hláw**, *funeral mound*, **hráw**, **hráw**, *corpse*; cf. also **lēmb**, **cælf**, note 1. Here the s of the suffix has totally disappeared; in the case of the short stems its vowel was retained as i (e), while in that of the long stems it was rejected according to 133. For **hláw**, **hráw**, and **flésc**, see also 90. note; the umlaut of the latter word is accounted for by the -iz of the oblique cases.

NOTE 4. The following dissyllables may be classed as original os-stems: **gesfég**, *joining*, **gegrýnd**, *plot of ground*, **gehielde**, *protection*, **gehlyd**, *clamor*, **geswine**, *tribulation*; more doubtful are **áeyrf**, *fragment*, **gehnést**, *conflict*, **geresp**, *blame*, **geswyrf**, *filings*.

Declension of Adjectives.

291. The Germanic adjective has a twofold declension: the strong and the weak. The latter is peculiar to Germanic, while the former originally corresponded to the adjective declension in the cognate languages. Most adjectives may be declined in either way; the employment of the one or the other depends chiefly upon syntactical considerations. The weak form is generally employed after the article, and whenever an adjective is

employed as a substantive; the strong form is assigned to the predicate adjective, and to the attributive adjective when used without the article.

NOTE. Of the strong declension are all the pronouns except **seolf(a)** and **se ilca**, 339; the cardinal numbers, from "two" upwards, so far as they are declined like adjectives (324 ff.); **6ðer**, *the second* (328); and a number of adjectives like **eall**, *all*, **genōg**, *enough*, **mōnig**, *many*. Of the weak declension are the comparatives, the superlatives in **-ma**, and the ordinals from "three" upward. The adjectives **wōn(a)**, *wanting*, and **gewuna**, *wont*, are for the most part indeclinable, and restricted to predicative use.

A. STRONG ADJECTIVES.

292. The strong adjective declension in Germanic has in many respects departed from its original form, which, as has been remarked, was identical with the noun declension, and has become assimilated to that of the pronouns. By this means the distinctions of the three vowel declensions, once possessed alike by adjective and noun, have been in great measure obscured. Only one vowel declension remains clearly marked, that of the **o**-stems (with the fem. in **-a**, cf. 235). As in the case of the noun, the **jo**- and **wo**-stems form subdivisions which must be separately considered. Of the **i**- and **u**-declensions only scanty remains have been preserved in the nom. (302 ff.).

1) *Pure o-stems.*

293. Here again we are called upon to distinguish between short and long stems, polysyllables and monosyllables. The discrepancies of the paradigms may be explained by reference to the laws concerning final sounds and syncopation. As a paradigm for the short stems we may take **hwæt**, *active*; for the long stems,

gód, *good*; for polysyllables, **hálig**, *holy*. The variations from the noun declension are indicated in *a)* and *b)* by italics :

a) SHORT STEMS.

MASC.	NEUT.	FEM.
Sing. N.V. hwæt	hwæt	hwatu, -o
G. <i>hwates</i>		<i>hwætre</i>
D. <i>hwatum</i>		<i>hwætre</i>
A. <i>hwætne</i>	hwæt	hwate
I. hwate		
Plur. N.A.V. <i>hwate</i>	hwatu, -o	hwata, -e
G. <i>hwætra</i>		
D. <i>hwatum</i>		

b) LONG STEMS.

Sing. N.V. góð	góð	góð
G. <i>góðes</i>		<i>góðre</i>
D. <i>góðum</i>		<i>góðre</i>
A. <i>góðne</i>	góð	góðe
I. góðe		
Plur. N.V. A. <i>góðe</i>	góð	góða, -e
G. <i>góðra</i>		
D. <i>góðum</i>		

c) POLYSYLLABLES.

Sing. N.V. hálig	hálig	{ háligu, -o; hálgu, -o; hálig
G. <i>hálges</i>		<i>háligre</i>
D. <i>hálgum</i>		<i>háligre</i>
A. <i>háligne</i>	hálig	hálgē
I. hálgē		—
Plur. N.V. A. <i>hálgē</i>	{ háligu, -o; hálgu, -o; hálig	hálgā, -e
G. <i>háligra</i>		
D. <i>hálgum</i>		

NOTE 1. The **-u** of the nom. sing. fem. and nom. acc. plur. neut. of the short stems and polysyllables **hwatu**, **háligu**, is in general older than the **-o** of **hwato**, **háligo**. In LWS. even the long stems some-

times take the ending **-u** (**-a**) in the nom. acc. plur. neut.: **swylcu**, **callu**, **unrihta**.

NOTE 2. In very old texts, the dat. sing. masc. and neut. sometimes ends in **-em**: **mínen**, etc. The **-um** of the same case, and of the dat. plur. of all genders, afterwards passes into **-on**, **-an**: **gódan**, **hálgan**, etc. (cf. 237. note 6).

NOTE 3. In LWS. the nom. acc. plur. neut. is replaced by the forms of the masc.: **hwate**, **góde**, **hálge**, for **hwatu**, **góð**, **hállgu**, **hálig**.

NOTE 4. In North. the gen. sing. masc. and neut. also ends in **-æs**, and the gen. dat. sing. fem. in **-ræ**; the nom. plur. has the ending **-e**, more rarely **-æ**, but very frequently (especially in the Rit.) **-o**.

294. Like **hwæt** are declined the few OE. adjectives with a short stem, like **til**, *useful*, **sum**, *a certain*, **hol**, *hollow*, **dol**, *dull*, **tom**, *tame*, **won**, *lacking*, **bær**, *bare*, **blæc**, *black*, **glæd**, *glad*, **hræd**, *speedy*, **læt**, *late*, **wær**, *wary*, as well as the compounds in **-sum**, **-some**, and **-lic**, **-ly**.

NOTE 1. The paradigm **hwæt** shows at the same time the modifications which the radical vowel **æ** undergoes, according to 49 ff. In distinction from the substantive, the vowel **æ** is here actually limited to forms with a closed radical syllable, **hwæt**–**hwates**, as opposed to **dæg**–**dæges**, **fæt**–**fætes**, etc. In certain words this rule is not observed: thus **stræc** seems always to retain its **æ**, and **hræð** (**hræd**) usually does so in WS.; **blæc**, *black*, takes **a** in all the oblique cases; other exceptions are rare.

Contrary to 144, those with short stems have, for the most part, no middle vowel; only seldom is one found in the **r**-cases: **sumere**, along with **sunre**.

NOTE 2. In Ps. the adjectives in **-sum** have **-sum** instead of **-sumu** in the nom. sing. fem. In the older period, **-lec** often stands for **-lic** before a vocalic ending.

295. Like **gód** are declined the majority of the OE. adjectives: **eald**, *old*, **fág**, *inimical*, **fáh**, *hostile*, **fláh**, *deceitful*, **gemáh**, *importunate*, **hál**, *whole*, **héah**, *high*, **róf**, *vigorous*, **tóh**, *tough*, **anwlóh**, *gewlóh*, *adorned*,

fyrn, *old* (originally an i-stem, as the umlaut shows), and many others.

NOTE 1. Words in **h**, like **ðweorh**, *transverse*, **héah**, *high*, **hréoh**, *rough*, **wóh**, *wrong*, **rúh**, *rough*, drop the **h** in polysyllabic forms; those having a vowel before the **h** contract, for the most part, according to 110 ff.; hence **ðweorh** – **ðweores** (242), but **wóh**, nom. sing. fem. **wó** (for ***wóhu**), gen. etc. **wós**, **wó(u)m**, **wóne**, **wó**, plur. **wóra**, **wó(u)m**, fem. **wóre**, etc., as well as **wóges**, etc. The acc. sing. of **héah** is generally **héanne**, more rarely **héane**, very seldom **héahne**, gen. dat. sing. fem. **héarre**, gen. plur. **héarra**, along with **héare**, **héahre**, and **héara**, **héahra** (222. 2); dat. **héagum**, side by side with **héam** and **héaum**; Ps. North. **héh** (163), but dat. **héam** from ***héhum**, acc. **héane** from ***héhona** (166. 5), weak **héa** from ***hého**, as in WS.

rúh has gen. **rúwes** and **rúges**, even occasionally **rúes** (cf. 116).

A similar interchange of **h** and **g** is occasionally to be noted in the forms of **gemáh** *importunate*, **néah**, *nigh*, and **fréoh**, *free*. Now and then forms without **h**, and indeed such as have **w**, are found in the cases which have no termination: **hréo** for **hréoh**.

NOTE 2. Words ending in a geminated consonant, like **grimm**, *fierce*, **still**, *quiet*, **wónn**, *dusky*, **dímm**, *dark*, **deall**, *proud*, **eall**, *all*, simplify the geminate (225) before any termination beginning with a consonant, and, as a rule, when final: **grim(m)**, **grimme**, **grimre**, **grimra**, but **grimmes**, **grimmum**, etc. Nevertheless, **H** often remains before consonants: **eallre**, **eallra**, **eallne**, etc.

NOTE 3. In the later texts, **-ere**, **-era**, are the regular forms, even after long stems: **gódere**, **gódera**, etc.

296. To the polysyllables, which are declined like **hálig** (North. also **hælig**), belong the derivatives in **-ig**, like **éadig**, *fortunate*, **fámig**, *foamy*, **hrémig**, *clamorous*, **mónig**, *many a* (North. also **ménig**); in **-el**, **-ol**, like **lytel**, *little*, **micel**, *large*, **yfel**, *evil*, **hnitol**, *pushing with the horns*, **sticol**, *sharp*, **sweotol**, *manifest*; in **-er**, **-or**, like **fæger**, *fair*, **biter**, *bitter*, **bitter**, **snotor**, *snottor*, **wise**; in **-en**, like **hæðen**, *heathenish*, **gilpen**, *boastful*; besides the adjectives denoting material, like **gylden**, *golden*, **fren**, *iron*, **stánen**, *stone*, the past part. of verbs (306), and many others.

NOTE 1. The polysyllables with the first syllable short retain the middle vowel, in all forms, whenever it is original (144): **sweo-toles**, **sweotole**; but not always when it arose in the nom. acc. from syllabic **r**: **fægeres** and **fægres**, etc. On the contrary, **micel** and **lytel** are always treated like long stems, and **yfel** very frequently so; that is, they undergo syncope of the middle vowel: **micles**, **lytles**, etc. In the case of the long stems, syncope does not take place in the trisyllabic forms of the nom. sing. fem. and nom. acc. plur. in the earlier period; hence **háligu** (**micelu**, **lytelu**), not **hálgu**; not till later do we encounter forms like **eówru**, **hlítru**, etc. In the other trisyllabic forms, having a termination beginning with a vowel, the long stems should always undergo syncope; frequently, however, the middle vowel has again forced an entrance from the unsyncopated forms, the frequency increasing with the lateness of the period. Most irregular of all are the adjectives in **-ig** (which often appears before a vocalic ending as **-eg-**). The fewest instances of syncope are formed in the past part. in **-en**.

NOTE 2. The accusative ending **-ne** is attached immediately to the adjective endings in **-en**, and the endings **-re**, **-ra**, to those in **-er**: **gyldenne**, **frenne**; **fægerre**, **snotterra**, etc. Now and then, especially in later OE., the **nn**, **rr**, are simplified to **n**, **r** (225. 2. b).

2) jo-stems.

297. Stems originally short, like **mid**, *middle*, **nyt**, *useful*, **gesib**, *related* (cf. Goth. **midjis**, **gasibjis**), and perhaps **lyt**, *little*, are declined in all respects like the pure **o**-stems ending in a geminated consonant (295. note 2): **mid**, gen. **middes**, fem. **midre**, etc.

NOTE 1. **níwe** (**níewe**), *new*, with its alternative **néowe** (Goth. **niujis**), which originally belonged here, has **-e** in the nom. like the long stems, and retains its **w** even before consonants: **níwne**, **níwre**, **níwra**; or **néowne**, etc.

NOTE 2. **frío**, *free*, Ps. **fréa**, stem ***frijo-**, contracts the vowel of root and suffix in the nom. sing., but originally retained the uncontracted form in the polysyllabic cases: **frío**, gen. **friges**, dat. **frigum**, plur. **frige**, etc. Yet forms modelled directly on the contract nom. are the rule in WS.: gen. dat. sing. fem. **fríore**, gen. plur. **fríora**, acc. sing. masc. **fríone**, nom. acc. plur. masc. **frío**, etc. The forms **fríoh**, **fréoh**, like *ungebléoh*, *variegated*, are new formations.

298. Stems originally long take -e in the nom. sing. masc. and neut.; they have -u, -o in the nom. sing. fem. and nom. acc. plur. neut., and in other respects are declined like the pure o-stems. Paradigm: *gréne*, *green*.

	MASC.	NEUT.	FEM.
Sing. N.V.	gréne	gréne	grénu, -o
G.	grénes		grévre
D.	grénum		grévre
A.	gréinne	gréne	gréne
I.	gréne		
Plur. N.V.	gréne	grénu, -o	gréna, -e
	G.	gréna	
	D.	grénum	

NOTE. Words with mute + liquid or nasal before the e, like *gífre*, *sýfre*, *fácene*, insert a vowel before the r, n, when an unlike consonant follows: *sýferne*, *fácenra*; on the other hand, acc. sing. masc. *fácene* for **fácenne*, gen. plur. *sýfra* for **sýfrra*, etc. Adjectives ending in -nne do not add n in the acc. sing. masc.

299. This declension is followed by a tolerably large number of OE. adjectives. Examples: *blíðe*, *blithe*, *bréme*, *famous*, *céne*, *bold*, *dierne*, *secret*, *drýge*, *dry*, *ierre*, *angry*, *fácene*, *deceitful*, *séfte*, *soft*, *swéte*, *sweet*, *sýfre*, *sober*; besides verbal adjectives like *gënge*, *current*, *genæme*, *acceptable*, and a large number ending in -báre, *bearing*, -ede, -ed, and -ihte, -y, like *wæstmbáre*, *fruitful*, *hócede*, *curved*, *stænihlte*, *stony*.

NOTE 1. A few adjectives fluctuate between this declension and that of the simple o-stems: e.g., *smolt* and *smylte*, *serene*; *strønge* and *streng*, *strong*; *unláed* and *unlæde*, *wretched*; *sóft* and *séfte*, *soft*.

NOTE 2. Not a few adjectives have been transferred to this from the i- or u-declension (302 ff.).

3) wo-stems.

300. The words with a single consonant before the w vocalize the latter when final to -o, -u (-a), and before

a consonantal termination to -o. Here belong, for example: *earu, active, gearu, ready, mearu, tender, nearu, narrow, calu, callow, cylu, spotted, fealu, fallow, salu, sallow, geolu, yellow, basu, be(o)su, brown, hasu, gray*. They are declined as follows:

	MASC.	NEUT.	FEM.
Sing. N.V.	gearu	gearu, -o	gearu, -o
G.	gearwes		gearore
D.	gearwum		gearore
A.	gearone	gearu, -o	gearwe
I.	gearwe		—
Plur. N.V.	A. gearwe	gearu	gearwa, -e
G.		gearora	
D.		gearwum	

NOTE. A middle vowel frequently stands before the w: *gearowe, gearewum, etc.* Of sporadic occurrence is an acc. *fealuwne, etc.*; -uw is even found at times in the uninflected form: *mearuw, brún-basuw, geoluw*.

301. Words with a long vowel or a diphthong before the w retain the latter in all cases, and hence conform in all respects to the declension of the simple o-stems. Examples: *sláw, slow, gedéaw, dewy, (ge)hléow, sheltered, unhléow, unsheltering, geséaw, juicy, gléaw, prudent, hnéaw, miserly, hréaw, raw, réow, rough, rów, gentle, and the plur. tant. féa, féawe, few*; to these may be added *réow(a), serving*, though the latter usually follows the weak declension.

NOTE. From *réow* is also formed the acc. *réone*.

4) i-stems.

302. Of short stems only a few relics are left: *bryce, fragile, swice, deceitful, cyme, comely, frëme, strenuous, gemyne, mindful*. They follow the declension of the originally long jo-stems, like *gréne* (298), i.e., they re-

tain the simple consonant in all cases, and do not insert **j** before the vocalic termination.

NOTE. The long **i**-stems, whose **i** ought properly to be dropped when there is no case-ending, have passed over to the declension of the long **jo**-stems: e.g., **brýce**, *useful*, **swéte**, *sweet*, **blíðe**, *blithe*, **gedéfe**, *suitable*, **gemáne**, *common*, cf. Goth. **brúks**, **súts**, **bleþs**, **gadófs**, *gamains*; the only exception is the nom. **fyrn**, *ancient*, which may be regarded as the sole relic of the long **i**-stems.

5) u-stems.

303. The only certain relic of the **u**-declension is **ewicu**, **cucu**, *alive*, more frequently **ewic**. All the other cases are formed from **ewic**, gen. sing. **ewices**, **ewiere**, etc., the only exception being the masc. sing., which occurs as **cucune**, **cucenne**, etc. (cf. 225. note). Here may also belong **wlacu**, *tepid*, beside its alternative **wlæc**.

NOTE 1. The long **u**-stems have mostly gone over to the **o**- or **jo**-declension: cf. OE. **heard**, *hard*, **gléaw**, *sagacious*, with Goth. **hardus**, **glaggwus**; **egle**, *troublesome*, **hn̄scce**, *soft*, **twelfwintre**, *twelve years old*, with Goth. **aglus**, **hn̄asqus**, and **twallbwintrus**. Occasionally doublets are found, like **strong** and **strēng**.

NOTE 2. The oblique cases of **ewicu**, **cucu**, now and then exhibit the forms **cucene**, **cuces**, **cuce**, etc.

B. THE WEAK DECLENSION.

304. The weak declension of adjectives is the same as that of nouns, except that the gen. plur. is almost always replaced by the strong form **-ra**. Paradigm: **góda**, *the good*.

MASC.	FEM.	NEUT.
Sing. N. V. góda	góde	góde
G.	gódan	
D.	gódan	
A. gódan	gódan	góde
Plur. N.V.A.	gódan	
G.	gódra	
D.	gódum	

NOTE 1. A gen. plur. in *-ena*, like *gódena*, is rarely met with, and perhaps belongs only to scholarly translations like the Cura Past. Other variations of the gen. plur. are the ending in *-an* in conformity with the other cases; contractions like *éterna*, *gearra*, *úttra*, *yldra*, for *éternen(a)*, *gearr(a)* (307), *úterr(e)ra*, **yldr(e)ra*; besides which the gen. is sometimes formed in *-a*, like that of strong nouns: *feðer-fóta*, *uplica*.

NOTE 2. The dat. plur. *-an* frequently occurs at an early period instead of *-um*, *gódan*, *læssan*, etc., in advance of its appearance in the dat. of strong adjectives and the dat. plur. of nouns (237. note 6; 293. note 3). This is no doubt to be attributed to the influence of the other cases in *-an*. The ending *-an*, wherever occurring, is occasionally replaced by *-on*.

NOTE 3. In some words contraction takes place: thus *heá*, gen. *heán* from *heáh*, dat. sing. *hreón* from *hreóh*; *wó*, *wón* from *wóh*, etc.

NOTE 4. The discrepancies in North. are essentially the same as those that have been already noticed under the weak declension of nouns (276. note 2).

C. DECLENSION OF PARTICIPLES.

305. The present participle has adopted in full the jo-declension of adjectives, and may also be inflected as weak. Paradigm of the strong declension: *giefende*, *giving*.

	MASC.	NEUT.	FEM.
Sing. N.V.	<i>giefende</i>	<i>giefende</i>	<i>giefendu</i> , -o
G.	<i>giefendes</i>		<i>giefendre</i>
D.	<i>giefendum</i>		<i>giefendre</i>
A.	<i>giefendne</i>	<i>giefende</i>	<i>giefende</i>
I.	<i>giefende</i>		
Plur. N.V.	<i>giefende</i>	<i>giefendu</i> , -o	<i>giefenda</i> , -e
G.		<i>giefendra</i>	
D.		<i>giefendum</i>	

NOTE 1. When used predicatively, the past participle is apt to be uninflected in the nom. acc.

NOTE 2. For the declension of the present participle when used as a substantive see 286 ff.

306. The past participle, like the adjective, has both the strong and the weak declension; *e.g.*, from **áceosan**, *elect, nérian, save*:

	MASC.	NEUT.	FEM.
Strong	{ ácoren	ácoren	ácorenu
	genéred	genéred	genéredu
Weak	{ ácorena	ácorene	ácorene
	genéreda	genérede	genérede

NOTE 1. The nom. sing. fem. and nom. acc. plur. in -u are rare, and are almost entirely confined to attributive use. In the predicative position the uninflected form is employed: **ácoren, genéred**.

NOTE 2. With regard to syncope in polysyllabic forms cf. 296.

D. THE COMPARISON OF ADJECTIVES.

1) Comparative.

307. The OE. comparative has but one ending, **-ra**, which corresponds both to the Goth. **-iza** and to the Goth. **-ōza**. This termination is usually attached to the positive, without any modification of the latter by i-umlaut: **carm, poor – earmra ; heard, hard – heardra ; glæd, glad – glædra ; fæger, fair – fægerra ; gearo, ready – gearora** (EWS. **gearra**). Only a few form their comparative with i-umlaut, like **eald, old – ieldra ; gréat, great – gríetra ; geong, young – gi(e)ngra** (Ps. also **gungra**); **sceort, short – scyrtra**; **héah** has **híerra, hýrra** (222. 2), as well as **híehra** and **héahra**.

NOTE. The comparative of **brád** is usually **brádra**, but sometimes **bráedra**; the comparative of **gehléow**, *sheltered*, is found once as **gehlfura** (Ep. Alex. 53).

308. The comparatives are declined like weak adjectives (304).

2) *Superlative.*

309. The shorter form of the superlative ends in **-ost** (likewise in **-ust**, **-ast**), more rarely in **-est**: *e.g.*, **léof**, *dear* – **léofost**; *heard, hard* – **heardost**; **hwæt**, *sharp* – **hwatost**; **ríce**, *rich* – **rícost**; **smæl**, *small* – **smalost**; but **strøng**, **strønge**, *strong* – **strøngost**.

NOTE. The superlative of **smæl** sometimes occurs as **smælst**; from **féa**(*we*) are formed **féast** and **féawoste**.

310. The superlative, like the comparative (307), but seldom takes i-umlaut: **eald** – **ieldest**, **læng** – **længest**, **strøng** – **strøngest**, **geong** – **gi(e)ngest** (Ps. also **gun-gesta**), **sceort** – **scyrtest**; **héah** has **híehst**, **hýlst** along with **héahest**, **héahst**, LWS. **héilst(a)**, cf. 101 (Ps. **hésta**, North. **hésta**, **heista**, 166. 5).

NOTE. These superlatives with umlaut have also a substitute in **-ost**.

311. With regard to the inflection, the strong declension of superlatives is almost entirely confined to the shorter forms in **-ost**, **-est**, which stand for the nom. voc. sing. and acc. sing. neut. With this exception, strong forms are rare. The superlative usually follows the weak declension.

As a rule, the umlaut forms have the termination **-esta**: **ieldesta**, **længesta**, **gingesta**; or, rarely, the shortened **-sta**: **híehsta**, **hýhsta**; more rarely **-osta**, as in **sélostá** (312). Even those without umlaut, and ending in **-ost**, like **heardost**, **léofost**, very frequently change the **o** of this ending into **e**, as soon as the word receives an additional syllable: **heardesta**, **léofesta**, along with **heardosta**, **léofosta** (cf. 129). Syncope of the **e** is rare in the umlaut forms: **længsta**, **yldsta**.

3) *Irregular Comparison.*

312. In a few adjectives the lack of a regular comparative or superlative is supplied by forms from a different root:

<i>góð, good</i>	comp. <i>bæt(e)ra, bættra</i>	superl. <i>bæt(o)st, bætsta</i>
—	“ <i>sélla, sélra</i>	“ <i>sélost, sélesta (-osta)</i>
<i>yfel, bad</i>	“ <i>wiersa</i>	“ <i>wierrest(a), wiersta</i>
<i>micel, great</i>	“ <i>mára</i>	“ <i>máest(a)</i>
<i>lytel, small</i>	“ <i>lássa</i>	“ { <i>lásest, -ast, láest(a), lérest</i>

NOTE. To *mára* belongs the neuter substantive *má*, Ps. *máé*; similarly to *sélla, sélra*, *better* (North. Early Kent. *sélára*) belongs *sél* (older *sáл*). For *máest(a)* the North. has also *mást(a)*.

313. In a few cases the comparative and superlative are formed from an adverb or preposition, in default of a corresponding positive:

<i>feor, far</i>	comp. <i>fierra, fyrra</i>	superl. <i>flerrest(a)</i>
<i>néah, near</i>	“ <i>néarra, néara</i>	“ <i>nfehst(a), nýhst(a)</i>
<i>ær, earlier</i>	“ <i>árra</i>	“ <i>árest(a)</i>
<i>fore, before</i>	“ <i>furðra</i>	“ <i>fyrst(a), EWS. fyrest</i>

NOTE. For Ps. *nésta*, North. *nésta*, *neista*, see 166. 5. LWS. *néhsta, nexta*, standing for umlauted *néahsta*, are frequently found (101).

314. From some words there is formed a superlative with an *m*-suffix. This is preserved in its simplest form only in *forma, the first*, and in *hindema, the hindmost*; the others have added the regular superlative termination *-est*, and consequently end in *-mest* (*-mæst*). These formations, like the preceding, are in some cases derived from adverbs and prepositions:

(síð, late)	comp. síðra	superl. síðemest, síðest
(læt, late)	" lætra	" lætemest
(inne, within)	" inn(e)ra	" innemest
(úte, without)	" út(er)ra, ýtra	" ýtemest, útemest
(ufan, above)	" ufera, yfer(r)a	" yf(e)mest
(niðan, below)	" niðerra	" niðemest, neoðemest
(fore, before)	" —	" forma, fyrmest
(æfter, after)	" æfterra	" æftemest
(mid, mid)	" —	" midmest
(norð, northward)	" norð(e)ra, nyrðre	" norðmest
(súð, southward)	" súð(e)ra, sýðera	" súðmest
(éast, eastward)	" éast(e)ra	" éastmest
(west, westward)	" west(e)ra	" westmest

NOTE 1. In EWS. we find a superlative ýmest, *the highest*, Goth. auhmists (222. 2. note).

NOTE 2. Comparatives in adverbial use are norðor, súðor (sýð).

NOTE 3. The regular ending of the comparative is -erra, except in síðra and lætra; -era, -ra, are contractions from the full form (225. 2. b.).

APPENDIX.

Formation of Adverbs.

315. Adjectival adverbs have the ending -e: *e.g.*, heard, *hard* – *hearde*; *sóð*, *true* – *sóðe*; *nearo*, *narrow* – *nearwe*; *sweotul*, *manifest* – *sweotule*; *hlítor*, *clear* – *hlítré*; *wíd*, *wide* – *wíde*. If the adjective itself ends in -e, the adverb assumes this form without change: *cláne*, *clean*, *gedéfe*, *suitable*. A few adverbs, such as *ædre*, *promptly*, *sóme*, *likewise*, *snéome*, *quickly*, have no corresponding adjectives.

NOTE. Corresponding to *séfte*, *soft*, is found the adverb *sófte* without umlaut, and in like manner to *énge* the adverb *ónge*; but *hádor*, *serene*, usually has *hádre*; without umlaut are likewise *swóte*, *sweetly*, and even *cláne*, *cleanly* (Charter of A.D. 835). To *gód*, *good*, belongs

the adverb **wel**. The vowels **æ** and **a** are interchanged without apparent cause in **(h)ræðe** and **(h)raðe**, *quickly*; **smæle** and **smale**, comparative **smælor**. In LWS. occurs **héage**, *high*, instead of the older **héah**.

316. Adverbs of another class, frequently employed instead of the foregoing, or side by side with them, are formed by composition of the simple adjective stem with -lice: **hearde** and **heardlice**, **sóðe** and **sóðlice**, **sweotule** and **sweotullice**. This mode of formation subsequently becomes the predominant one.

317. Some adverbs, in part without corresponding adjectives, have the termination -a: **fela**, *very*, **géara**, *formerly*, **gíena**, *again*, **geostra**, *yesterday*, **gieta** (also **giet**), *yet*, **singala** (also **singale** and **singales**), *always*, **sóna**, *soon*, **tela**, **teala**, *properly*, and the numeral adverbs **tuwa**, **ðriwa** (331).

318. Adverbs are formed from adjectives, and more rarely from other words, by means of the terminations -unga, -enga, -inga. Examples: **dearnunga**, *secretly*; **eallunga**, *entirely*; **éawunga**, *publicly*; **eorrunga**, **ierrunga**, *angrily*; **hólunga**, *secretly*; **wéninga**, *perhaps*.

NOTE. The three endings frequently interchange with each other in the same word, without causing any modification of the radical syllable. The greater number exhibit u-umlaut of the stem vowel; i-umlaut of the radical syllable is rare, unless the basic word already had the umlaut: *e.g.*, **féninga** and **ánunga**, **áninga**, *entirely*; **semnunga** and **sqmnunga**, *suddenly*.

319. The oblique cases of adjectives are sometimes employed as adverbs. Accusatives of this sort are **lyt**, **lytel**, *little*, **genög**, *enough*, **fyrn**, **gefyrn**, *formerly*, **full**, *fully*, **héah**, *high*, **ungemæt**, *immoderately*; and those

in **-weard**, like **upweard**, **súðweard**; genitives **ealles**, *altogether*, **nealles** (**nalles**, **nalas**, **nalæs**, **nals**), *not at all*, **q̄les**, *otherwise*, **micles**, *very*, **simbles**, *simples*, **singales**, *always*; **ðweores**, *perversely*, **orcéapes**, *gratis*, **géapes**, *wide*, **stéapes**, *high*, **unwares**, *unawares*, **q̄ndemes(t)**, *equally*, **sq̄mt̄nges**, *together*, **nihtl̄nges**, *all night long*, **ungewisses**, *unconsciously*, **lytes**, *little*, **hwæthuguningas**, *somewhat*, **ungem̄tes**, *immoderately*; several in **-weardes**, **-wards**, like **upweardes**, **súðweardes**; others with a prepositional prefix like **tógegnes**, *against*, **tōmiddes**, *in the midst*; finally, datives like **miclum**, *very*, **lytlum**, *little*.

320. Of nouns, it is especially the gen. and instr. sing. and the dat. instr. plur. that are employed as adverbs: the genitive, for example, in **dæges**, *by day*, **nihtes**, *by night*, **(un)ðq̄nces**, *(un)willingly*, **willes**, **gewealdes**, *willingly*, and its compounds; **néades**, **níedes**, *needs*, **healfes**, *on the side*, **instæpes**, *immediately*; the instrumental in **fáene**, *very*, **sáre** (earlier **sáre**, with i-umlaut, cf. 237. note 2), *sore*; the dat. plur., especially in compounds ending in **-málum**, like **dropmálum**, *drop by drop*, **stundmálum**, *time after time*.

NOTE. Adverbial phrases, consisting of a preposition followed by a genitive, now and then occur: **tō áefenes**, *till evening*; **tō nónes**, *till noon*; **tō úhtes**, *toward dawn*; **tō geslites**, *emulously*. Of a similar character are **hú gerádes**, *how*; **hú géares**, *at what time of year*; **hú meta**, *how*; **hú nyta**, *wherefore*. Cf. phrases like **énige ȝinga**, *somehow*; **nánige ȝinga**, *not at all*; **huru ȝinga**, *especially*.

321. Adverbs of place denote rest in a place, motion towards, and motion from a place. The most important are the following:

WHERE?	WHITHER?	WHENCE?
þær (LWS. þár), <i>there</i>	{ þlder (EWS. þæder, þædres)	þonan
hwáer (LWS. hwár), <i>where</i>	hwider	hwónan
hér, <i>here</i>	hider (hidres)	heonan, hine
inne, innan, <i>within</i>	in(n)	—
úte, útan, <i>without</i>	út	—
uppe, uppan, <i>above</i>	up(p)	—
ufan, <i>above</i>	—	ufan
neoðan, <i>below</i>	niðor	—
foran, <i>before</i>	forð	—
hindan, <i>behind</i>	hinder	hindan
—, <i>east</i>	éast	éastan
—, <i>west</i>	west	westan
—, <i>north</i>	norð	norðan
—, <i>south</i>	súð	súðan
feorran, <i>far</i>	feor(r)	feorran
néah, néh, <i>near</i>	near	néan

NOTE 1. In North. the adverbs in -an lose their final -n: þona, hwóna, ufa, etc. On the other hand, these adverbs sometimes take a fuller form in -ane (qne) in WS.

NOTE 2. From hwáer are also formed gehhwáer; áeghwáer, ágeh-wáer; (ge)welhwáer, welgehwáer, *everywhere*; áhwáer, áwer, ówer, *anywhere*; náhwáer, *nowhere*. Emphatic forms of þær and hwáer are þára and hwára. Peculiar in form are the adverbs hidenofer, *hither*, and geonofer, *thither*.

Comparison of Adverbs.

322. As a rule, no adverbs admit of comparison except those derived from adjectives, their comparative and superlative being identical with those of the corresponding adjectives in -or, -ost: e.g., heardor, heardost, strongor, strongost, léoflicor, léoflicost. From seldan is formed a comparative seldnor (*seldor*) and superlative seldost, and from hider the comparative hideror, nearerer.

323. A few adverbs have, as a comparative, a peculiar monosyllabic form without the termination of the com-

parative, but generally distinguished from the positive by i-umlaut. These are *bēt, better, wiers, worse, má, mae, more, lēs, less, tēr, earlier, sīð, later, fierr, farther, lēng, longer, néar, nýr, nearer, sél* (Early Kent. North. *sæl*), *better, end* (Goth. *andis*), *before, formerly, tylg, more willingly, séft, softer, feð, easier*. To some of these no corresponding positives are found.

NOTE 1. These adverbs correspond to the Goth. adverbs in -is, -s, like *batis, -seljs*; the ending -is, -s, is lost according to 144; 182.

NOTE 2. From *lēng* is formed the compound *lēnglísra* (from *lōng-life*), which accordingly has double comparison. A similar example is *máfealdre*, comparative of *mūligfeald*. The superlative *árest, first*, is very rarely contracted to *áest*.

Numerals.

1) Cardinals.

324. The first three numerals are declinable in all cases and genders:

1) *án* is declined like a strong adjective, according to the paradigm *góð* (293. 2), the acc. sing. masc. usually taking the short-stemmed form *ænne*, later *ánnē*, and the instr. *æne* as well as *áne*. Plural forms are found with the meaning "only," and in the phrases *ána gehwylc, each one, áne féawa worda, a few words, áne nigon naman tō ánum andhēafdum* (Cod. Dipl. V., 153). The weak declension is employed when the word signifies "alone."

	MASC.	FEM.	NEUT.
2)	N. A. <i>twegeñ</i>	<i>twá</i>	<i>tú, twá</i>
	G.	<i>tweg(e)a, twegra</i>	
	D	<i>twáem, twám</i>	

NOTE 1. So is declined *begen, beggen, both*: fem. *bá, neut. bù, gen. beg(r)a, dat. báem, bám*. The monosyllabic forms of these two

words are often used conjointly: masc. fem. **bá twá**, neut. **bú tú** (**bútwu**, also **búta**), dat. **bám twám**. For **twegen**, Kent. and Rush. also have **twægen**; the North. is more irregular. **begen** has **ó** in Early Kent. North.: gen. **béga**, dat. **bém** (along with **béam**), perhaps relics of original duals (cf. Kent. **twœntig**, *twenty*, OE. **twentig**, contracted from ***twóem tigum**).

The original quantity of the **e** in **twegen**, **begen**, is undetermined; in ME. it is decidedly short (Orrm has **tweggen**).

3)	N. A. þrí, þríe (þry)	þréo	þréo
	G.	þréora	
	D.	þrím (þreom)	

NOTE 2. The length of the **i** in **þrím** is rendered certain, at least as regards the North., by the fact of gemination. In North. the nom. of all genders is **þró, þría, þréa**, the gen. **þréana**.

325. The numbers from 4 to 19, when attributively used, are not generally inflected (numerous exceptions in North.). They are: 4. **féower**; 5. **fíf**; 6. **siex, six**; 7. **seofon**; 8. **eahta**; 9. **nigon**; 10. **tíen, týn**; 11. **endleofan, ellefan**; 12. **twelf**; 13. **þríténe, þritténe**; 14–19. **féower-, fíf-, siex-, seofon-, eahta-, nigontfene (-téne, -týne)**.

If these numbers stand by themselves, they are inflected according to the i-declension; e.g., nom. acc. **fífe**, gen. **fífa**, dat. **fífum**.

NOTE. Other WS. and dialectic forms are: North. **feuer, féor**; WS. **syx, slox, seox, seax**, North. **sex**; WS. **seofan, seofen, sifofon**, North. **seifo, seifa, sifofu**; North. **aehto, aëtowe, ahta**; WS. **nigan, nigen, neogon**, North. **nfone**; North. **téa, téo, téin**; WS. **endlufan, endlufon, endlyfon, endlýfan, ænlufon**, North. **ællefnæ**; North. **twœlf**; WS. **þreot(t)ýne**. The inflected numerals of North. have the nom. acc. plur. **feuero, fífo, sexo, seofona, nigona, téno, ællefno, tuoelfo**.

326. The even tens from 20 to 60 are formed by joining the syllable **-tig** (= Goth. **tigus**, *decade*) to the corresponding unit; those from 70 to 120 in the same manner,

but with **hund** prefixed (though it is sometimes lost in the later language). They are: 20. **twentig** (**twoentig** L., **twægentig** R.²) ; 30. **ðr̄stig**, **ðrittig** ; 40. **féowertig** (**feortig** L. Rit.) ; 50. **fiffig** ; 60. **siextig** (**sexdig**, -deih L.) ; 70. **hundseofontig** ; 80. **hundeahatig**, **hundeah-tig** ; 90. **hundnigontig** ; 100. **hund**, **hundtéontig** (**hun(d)téantig** L. Rit.) ; 110. **hundendleofantig**, **hun(d)endlýftig**, (**hundælleftig**, Cura Past.) ; 120. **hundtwelftig**.

These numbers are originally neuter nouns, and followed by the genitive; but they also occur as adjectives at a comparatively early period. Occasionally they form a gen. in -es as if sing.: **ðrittiges**, **fiftiges**, etc.; but have also gen. -tiga, -tigra, dat. -tigum, and are sometimes indeclinable.

327. Along with **hundtéontig** there likewise exists a WS. neut. **hundred**, North. **hundrað**, -eð, to denote 100. The numbers 200–900 are formed with **hund**: **tú hund**, **ðréo hund**, etc. (more rarely **hundred**); both components admit of declension. 1000 is expressed by the neut. **ðúsend**, gen. **ðúsendes**; its plur. is **ðúsendu**, -o (-e), gen. -da, dat. -dum; the adjectival gen. plur. -dra also occurs, and the word sometimes remains uninflected.

2) *Ordinals.*

328. The ordinals corresponding to 1 are **forma**, **for-mesta**, **fyrnesta**, **fyrest(a)**, **árest(a)**; to 2 are **ðær**, **aefterra**; the remaining ones are: 3. **ðridda** (North. **ðirða**, **ðirddha**); 4. **féowerða**, **feorða**; 5. **fifta**; 6. **siesta**, **sixta**, **syxta** (siesta, sesta L., sexta R.²); 8. **cahteoða**, **ehteoða**, **cahtegeða**; 9. **nigoða**, **nigeoða**; 10. **téoða**, **téogoða**, **teogeða** (teigða L.); 11. **ellefta**, **endléfta**,

qndleofeða, ændlyfta, ændlefta, ænlyfte, qndlyfta, qndleofta (ællefta L. R.²); 12. twelfta. 13–19 have -téoða, -téogeða, -teg(e)ða; 20–120, -tiogoða, -tigoða, -tegða, -tigða, -tiga: **twentigoða**, **twentiga**, etc.

No ordinals are formed corresponding to **hund**, **hundred**, and **þúsend**, periphrasis being employed instead. Occasionally the cardinals are used where we should expect ordinals. Combined numbers either have the second numeral an ordinal, **án and twentigoða**, etc., or (chiefly, perhaps entirely, confined to Beda) the ordinal of the unit is followed by **éac** and the dat. of the cardinals denoting the tens: **þridda éac twentigum**, **23rd**; **siesta éac fiftigum**, **56th**, etc.

All ordinals are declined like weak adjectives (304), with the exception of **óðer**, which belongs to the strong adjective declension.

3) Other Numerals.

329. In OE. there are only relics of former distributives. “One by one” is rendered by **ænlispig**; “two by two,” **getwynne** or **twám and twám**; “three by three,” **þrim and þrim**; “four by four,” **féower and féower**; “thousand by thousand,” **þúsendfealde** or **þúsendum and þúsendum**. With Goth. **tweihai** are allied the forms **twíh** and **twéonum** in phrases like **mid unc twíh**, *between us two*; **be sáem twéonum**, *between the seas*. More commonly they unite with the preposition **be** to form the compound preposition **betwíh**, **betweoh**, **bet(w)uh**, **butwuht**, and **betwínum**, **betweonum**, -an, **betweón** (North. also **betwín**, **betwfén**), *between*. In a similar manner has arisen a preposition **betwix**, **betwox(n)**, **betwux(n)**, **betwiux**, **betux**, *between* (cf. OHG. **untar zuiském**).

NOTE. Besides the dative phrases given above, an accusative is found, Oros. 68. 23: *ánnē* and *ánne*.

330. Multiplicatives are formed by adding the adjective *-feald* to the cardinals: *ánfeald*, *twiofeald* (*twie-*, *twi-*, *twyfeald*), *ðrifeald*, *mñigfeald*, etc.

331. Of numeral adverbs in answer to the question "how often?" only the following are in use: *æne*, *once*; *tuwa* (*twiwa*, *twywa*, *tuwa*, *twuga*), *twice*; and *ðriwa*, *ðrywa*, *ðriga*, *thrice*. Those from higher numbers, as well as alternatives to those just named, are formed periphrastically by means of *síð*, *journey*, *time*: *æne síða* (later *síðe*), *once*; *twáem*, *ðrím*, *fíf* *síðum*, etc.; likewise *on ænne síð*, etc.

NOTE. The "first, second, third time," etc., is expressed by *forman*, *ðóre*, *ðriddan*, *síðe*, etc.

Pronouns.

1) Personal Pronouns without Distinction of Gender.

	FIRST PERSON.	SECOND PERSON.
332. Sing. N.	<i>ic</i>	<i>ðū</i> (<i>ðu</i>)
G.	<i>mín</i>	<i>ðín</i>
D.	<i>mē</i> (<i>me</i>)	<i>ðē</i> (<i>ðe</i>)
A.	<i>mec</i> , <i>mē</i> (<i>me</i>)	<i>ðec</i> , <i>ðē</i> (<i>ðe</i>)
Dual N.	<i>wit</i>	<i>git</i>
G.	<i>uncer</i>	<i>ineer</i>
D.	<i>unc</i>	<i>inc</i>
A.	<i>uncit</i> , <i>unc</i>	<i>incit</i> , <i>inc</i>
Plur. N.	<i>wē</i> (<i>we</i>)	<i>gē</i> , <i>gíe</i> (<i>ge</i>)
G.	<i>úser</i> , <i>úre</i>	<i>éower</i>
D.	<i>ús</i>	<i>éow</i>
A.	<i>úsic</i> , <i>ús</i>	<i>éowic</i> , <i>éow</i>

NOTE 1. In *wē*, *gē*, etc., the length of the vowel is established by gemination and accent in the MSS., but cf. 121.

NOTE 2. The North. forms of the dat. acc. are **mē**, **mec**, **meh**; **ðē**, **ðeh**; plur. **úslc**, **úsig**, **úsih**, and **iuh**, **iuh** (ivigh Rit.); gen. plur. **úser**, **úterra**, **úsra**; **iuer**, **iterra**; Ps. **úr**, **éower**. From **ic** is formed, by prefixing the negative **ne**, a compound **níc(c)**, in the sense of "no."

2) *Reflexive Pronouns.*

333. An independent reflexive pronoun no longer exists in OE. In its stead are employed the corresponding forms of the third personal pronoun (334).

3) *Pronouns of the Third Person.*

	MASC.	NEUT.	FEM.
334. Sing. N.	hē (he)	hit	héo, híe, hí
G.	his		hiere, hire, hyre
D.	him		hiere, hire, hyre
A.	hi(e)ne	hit	híe, hí, héo
Plur. N. A.		híe, héo, hí (hig)	
G.		hiera, hira (hyra); heora (heara)	
D.		him, heom	

NOTE. In North. the dat. sing. fem. (more rarely the gen.) is **hir**; **heara** is peculiar to the Ps. and North.

4) *Possessives.*

335. The possessives are formed from the stems of the personal pronouns of the first and second persons, and from that of the lost reflexive: **mín**, *mine*; **ðín**, *thine*; **sín**, *his*; **uncer**, *of us two*; **incer**, *of you two*; **úre** (Ps. **úr**), **úser** (**ússer**), *our*; **éower** (North. **iuer**), *your*. Besides **sín**, which may stand for any gender or number, and is generally employed as a reflexive (like Lat. *suus*), the genitives of the third personal pronoun **his**, **hire**, plur. **hiera**, are also used as possessives.

336. The declension of the possessives is the same as that of the strong adjectives (**úre** like **gréne**, 298).

NOTE 1. *úser* generally assimilates *sr* to *ss* in the cases which have syncope of the middle vowel (144; cf. 180): *ússes*, *ússum*, for **úsres*, **úsrum*, etc.; but *úserne*. The double-*s* forces itself, however, even into unsyncopated cases: *ússer*, *ússerne*, *ússera*. The gen. plur. of *úre* is frequently *úra*; that of *úser* is sometimes *ússa*. This assimilation is wanting in North.: gen. *úsres*, etc. In North. *iuer* has *iures* and *iueres*, etc., gen. plur. *iuer*.

NOTE 2. The gen. plur. *úre*, depending upon such words as *begen*, *hwelc*, *énig*, and *nán*, is sometimes converted by analogy into the inflected possessive: *úrum bám*, *úrne hwelene*, *úres nánes*.

5) *Demonstratives.*

337. The pronoun *sē*, *séo*, *ðæt*, originally a simple demonstrative, was almost altogether restricted, in Old English, to the functions of the definite article. Its declension in WS. is:

MASC.	NEUT.	FEM.
Sing. N. <i>sē</i> , <i>se</i>	<i>ðæt</i>	<i>séo</i>
G. <i>ðæs</i>		<i>ðære</i>
D. <i>ðám</i> (<i>ðám</i>)		<i>ðære</i>
A. <i>ðone</i>	<i>ðæt</i>	<i>ðá</i>
I. <i>ðý</i> , <i>ðon</i>		—
Plur. N.A.	<i>ðá</i>	
G.	<i>ðára</i> (<i>ðéra</i>)	
D.	<i>ðám</i> (<i>ðám</i>)	

NOTE 1. Forms in parenthesis are more recent, and are seldom or never found in the oldest texts. Except in LWS., *ðare* very rarely occurs as gen. dat. sing., and *ðér* as dat. sing.; a LWS. form for gen. and dat. is *ðéra*. Besides *ðone*, there occur also *ðæne* and *ðane*, especially in LWS. (cf. 65, note 2). *ðám* passes into the LWS. *ðán* (cf. 187). The instrumental *ðon* (*ðán*) appears but seldom as an attributive; it is chiefly found in phrases like *ðon má*, *more than that*, and adverbial formulas like *for*, *bi ðon*, *on that account*, *æfter ðon*, *after that*, etc.

NOTE 2. Peculiarities of the Ps. are nom. acc. neut. *ðæt*, *ðet*, nom. sing. fem. *síe* (once *séo*), gen. masc. nom. *ðes* (along with *ðæs*), gen. dat. fem. *ðere*, gen. plur. *ðeara*. The North. inflection is: sing. nom. masc. *sē*, *ðē*, neut. *ðæt*, fem. *ðlu*, *ðio*, *ðý*; gen. *ðæs*, fem. *ðære*;

dat. **þáem**, fem. **þáer**, -re; acc. masc. **þone**, **þene**, neut. **þæt**, fem. **þá**; instr. **þý**, **þé**, **þon**; plur. nom. **þá**, gen. **þára**, dat. **þáem**. In LWS. **seo** is used for **sé**; still later **þé**, **þeo**, take the place of **sé**, **seo**.

338. The compound demonstrative pronoun **ðes**, fem. **ðeos**, neut. **ðis**, *this*, is thus declined in the oldest WS.:

MASC.	NEUT.	FEM.
Sing. N. ðes	ðis	ðeos
G. ðis(s)es , ðys(s)es		ðisse (ðeosse, ðisre)
D. ðiosum , ðis(s)um , ðys(s)um		ðisse (ðeosse, ðisre)
A. ðiosne , ðisne , ðysne	ðis	ðás
I. ðýs , ðís		—
Plur. N.A.	ðás	
G. ðissa (ðeossa)		
D. ðiosum , ðis(s)um , ðys(s)um		

NOTE 1. In the older documents **y** is confined to the cases instanced above; subsequently it takes the place of **i** in the other cases, according to **22**.

NOTE 2. The declension in the Ps. is: sing. nom. **ðes**, **ðis**, **ðeos**; gen. **ðisses**, **ðisse**; dat. **ðissum**, **ðisse**; acc. **ðeosne**, **ðis**, **ðás**; plur. nom. **ðás**, dat. **ðissum (ðeossum)**. North. sing. nom. masc. **ðes**, **ðis**, neut. **ðis**, fem. **ðius**, **ðios**; gen. **ðisses**, fem. **ðisse**; dat. **ðissum**, **ðas-**sum, fem. **ðisser**, **ðasser**, **ðæsser**; acc. masc. **ðiosne**, neut. **ðis**, fem. **ðás**; instr. **ðis**, **ðisse**, **ðissa**; plur. neut. **ðás**, dat. **ðissum**, **ðassum**.

NOTE 3. In LWS. the gen. dat. sing. fem. and gen. plur. occur as **þissere**, **þissera**.

NOTE 4. This pronoun was originally formed by the addition of a particle, **-se**, **-si** (= Goth. **sat**, OHG. **sé**, *behold*), to the case forms of the simple demonstrative. In OE. this formation is only to be recognized in such forms as **ðe-s**, **ðeo-s** (cf. North. **ðe**, **ðlu**, **337**. note 2), **ðá-s**, since the particle first became incorporated with the pronoun, and then partook of its inflection throughout.

NOTE 5. The pronoun **Jener**, Goth. **jains**, scarcely survives in OE.; an isolated **tó geonre byrg** (*Cura Past.*, 443. 25) is the only occurrence known. From the same root are, however, derived the adverbs **geond** (**glend**, **gind**), *through*; **begeondan**, *beyond*, etc.

339. The pronoun of identity is **sé ilca** (**illea**), *the same*, which is declined like a weak adjective. The equivalent of “*ipse*” is EWS. **self** (**seolf**, **sielf**, **sylf**), which may follow either declension.

NOTE. **sē** **seolfa** anciently meant only "he himself"; not till late did it acquire the signification of "the same."

6) *Relatives.*

340. OE. has no relative pronoun. Its place is supplied either by the simple demonstrative **sē**, **séo**, **ðæt**, or the particle **ðē**, alone or in combination with a demonstrative.

NOTE. **sē**, **séo**, **ðæt**, can of course refer only to the third person. **ðē** but seldom stands alone; it usually refers to an antecedent demonstrative: **sē**, **séo**, **ðæt**. This demonstrative frequently occupies a position immediately before the **ðē** (**sē** **ðē**, **séo** **ðē**, neut. anciently **ðætte**, subsequently analyzed into **ðæt** **ðē**), though it belongs, grammatically, to the preceding sentence.

Less frequent is the combination with a personal pronoun, which is then appended to the **ðē**: **ðē hē**, *who*; **ðē his**, *whose*; **ðē him**, *whom*, etc.; even double formations, **sē** **ðē his**, etc., occur. If the relative refers to the first or second person, either simple **ðē** (**ic** . . . **ðē**, **ðū** . . . **ðē**, or **ðū** **ðē**, etc.) or the personal pronoun follows them, as described above: **ðē ic**, *I who*; **ðē wē**, *we who*; **ðē úsic**, *we whom*, etc.

7) *Interrogatives.*

341. The simple interrogative **hwā**, **hwæt** = Goth. **hwās**, has only developed a masc. and neut. sing. The neut. **hwæt** (North. also **huæd**, **huætd**), with a following genitive, e.g. **hwæt mōnna**, signifies "what sort of a."

MASC.	NEUT.
Sing. N. hwā	hwæt
G. hwæs	
D. hwæm , hwám	
A. hwone	hwæt
I. —	hwý , hwí

NOTE. Besides **hwone** (rarely **hwane**), **hwæne** is also found, cf. 65. note 2. A second form of the instr., **hwon** (**hwan**), is met with only in adverbial phrases like **tō hwon**, **for hwon**, **why**, etc.; a third, **hū**, only in the character of an adverb, "how."

342. Of the strong adjective declension are **hwæðer**, *which of two?* and the compounds **húlic**, *of what sort?* and **hwile** (**hwylc**, **hwelc**, Ps. **hwelc**, North. **huœlc**, **huælc**), *which?* (from ***hwi-lfc**, ***hwa-lfc**). The relative of the latter is **swile**, **swylc**, **swelc**, *such* (North. **suoelc**, Goth. **swaleiks**).

8) *Indefinites.*

343. The indefinite pronoun "some one" is expressed by **sum**, which is declined like a strong adjective. In negative and interrogative sentences, the interrogatives **hwā**, **hwæðer**, may be used as indefinites. Most of the other indefinites are formed by composition.

344. The indeclinable **-hwega** (-**hwiga**, -**hwuga**; -**hwegu**, -**hwigu**, -**hwugu**, -**hugu**, North. -**hwoegu**, -**hwogu**) is used to form the compounds **hwaethwega**, *anything*, **aethwega**, *somewhat*, **forhwæga**, **forhwaga**, *at least*, **húhwega**, **húhugu**, *somewhere about*, and the substantive and adjective **hwilchwega**, *anyone*. The same meaning is expressed by **náthwā**, **náthwile**, properly "I know not who." "Anything" is likewise rendered by **áwiht**, **ówiht** (**áwuht**, **áuht**, **áht**; **ówuht**, **óht**; OHG. **eowiht**).

345. Indefinite relatives are formed from the interrogatives by **swā**—**swā**: **swā hwā swā**, **swā hwæðer swā**, **swā hwilc swā**, *whoever*, etc., the latter of which contract to **swæðer** (**swaðer**) and **swylc**.

346. "One of two" (Lat. *alteruter*) is **áhwæðer** (**óhwæðer**, **áwðer**, **ówðer**; **áuðer**, **áðer**, **áðor**), which is mostly confined to negative sentences. Of similar formation are: **áhwā**, *anyone*; **áhwæt**, *anything*; **áhwile**, *whatsoever*.

347. "Each" is denoted by **ælc** (**elc**, Ps. **ylc**, North. **ælc**); besides **æthwā**, **gewhā**, *each* (only as a substantive, but inflected sometimes as fem., cf. 341), **gehwæðer**, *both*; **gehwile**, *each* (also **ánra gehwile**), **sqmhwyle**, *some one*, (**ge**)**welhwyle**, *each*; and the strengthened forms **áeghwā**, **áeghwæðer** (**ægðer**), **áeghwile**, or **éghwā**, **éghwæðer**, **éghwile**, Ps. North. **éghwā**, etc.

NOTE 1. This prefixed **á**, **ó**, corresponds to the Goth. **aīw**, OHG. **eo**, **io** (174. 3), and is umlauted from **á**, **ó**, by the **i** of the **gl** which originally followed (cf. OHG. **eo-gl-hwelfh**, etc.).

NOTE 2. From the strengthened **áfre ælc**, is derived the modern Eng. *every*; **ælcuht** for **ælewuht**, *everything*, occurs Oros. 113. 26.

348. 1) To "any" corresponds OE. **ænig**; North. **æniht** is also found, probably arising from **ænig** by analogy with **wiht**, **wuht**, *thing* (cf. 2).

2) "Neither" is represented by **náhwæðer**, **nóhwæðer** (**náwðer**, **nówðer**, **náðer**); "none" by **nán**, **naénig**; "nothing" by **náwiht**, **nówiht** (**náwuht**, **náuht**, **náht**; **nówuht**, **nóht**, **nánþing**, **nánwiht**, **nanúht**, North. also **náeniht**, cf. 1).

349. "Such" is usually denoted by **swelc** (**swile**, **swyle**), cf. 342; sometimes also **ðyslie**, **ðuslie** (likewise assimilated to **ðyllic**, **ðullic**), but only in a demonstrative signification, never as a correlative.

PART II.—CONJUGATION.



In General.

350. The OE. verb has the following forms:

1) Only one independently developed voice: the active. Of the medial passive still extant in Gothic there remains only the single form **hátte**, with the plur. **háttón** (367. 2). With this exception, the passive is formed by means of the auxiliary verbs **béon**, **wesan** (427), more rarely **weorðan**.

2) Two tenses: a present, and a general tense of past time, which we call the preterit. The place of the future (for **béon** see 427) is generally supplied by the present, more rarely formed by means of the auxiliary verb **seulan**.

3) Two complete modes: an indicative and an optative (more frequently called subjunctive), besides an imperative, which is only used in the present.

4) Two numbers: singular and plural.

5) Three verbal nouns: a present infinitive, a present participle with active meaning, and a past participle with passive meaning, to which must be added a LWS. gerundive.

352. The Germanic verbs are divided into two principal classes, according to the formation of the preterit:

1) *Strong Verbs.* These form their preterit either by the so-called ablaut, that is, variation of the radical

vowel, like Goth. **binda**, *I bind*, **band**, *I bound* (ablaut verbs); or by reduplication of the radical syllable, which, however, does not exclude ablaut, like Goth. **haita**, *I call*, **haihait**, *I called*; **lēta**, *I let*, **lailót**, *I did let* (reduplicating verbs).

2) *Weak Verbs*. These form their preterit by the addition of the syllable **-da**, **-ta**, to the end (dental preterit): e.g., Goth. **nasja**, *I save*, **haba**, *I have*, **salbō**, *I anoint*, pret. **nasida**, **habaida**, **salbóda**; **bugja**, *I buy*, pret. **baúhta**, etc. The weak verbs again fall into three classes (see 398).

Besides these two main divisions there are certain smaller groups, concerning which see 417 ff.

I. Personal Endings in General.

353. The endings of the strong verbs:

PRESENT.

<i>Indicative.</i>	<i>Optative.</i>	<i>Imperative.</i>
Sing. 1. -u, -o; -e		Sing. 2. —
2. -es, -est	{ -e	Plur. 1. -an
3. -eo		2. -aø
Plur. -aø	-en, -an	

Infinitive: -an *Participle*: -ende

PRETERIT.

<i>Indicative.</i>	<i>Optative.</i>
Sing. 1. —	
2. -e	{ -e
3. —	
Plur. -un, -on, -an	-en

Participle: -en (-on).

NOTE. For the passive form see 367. 2.

354. The endings of the weak verbs, Class I. and II. (for those of III. see the complete paradigm, 415) :

PRESENT.					
<i>Indicative.</i>		<i>Optative.</i>		<i>Imperative.</i>	
I.	II.	I.	II.	I.	II.
Sg. 1. -u, -o; -e	-iu, -io, -i(g)e	I.	II.	Sg. 2. -e, —	-a
2. -es, -est	-as, -ast	{ -e	-i(g)e	Pl. 1. -an	-i(ge)an
3. -eð	-að			2. -að	-i(ge)að
Plur. -að	-i(g)e að	-en	-i(g)en		

Infinitive : I. -an ; II. -i(ge)an *Participle* : I. -ende ; II. -i(g)ende

PРЕТЕРИТ.			
<i>Indicative.</i>		<i>Optative.</i>	
Sing.			
1. -de			
2. -des, -dest		{ -de	
3. -de			
Plur. -dun, -don, -dan		-den	

Participle : I. -ed (-t) ; II. -od (-ad).

355. The endings of the strong verbs, and of the first class of weak verbs, are the same throughout the present, with the exception of the 2d sing. imp. (cf. 362). The second class of weak verbs has the same consonants, but different vowels. Moreover, the endings of the plur. ind. are identical in all verbs ; and the same is true of the whole pret. opt., except that, in both cases, allowance must be made for the preceding **d**, **t**, of the weak verbs.

NOTE. For the preteritive presents, which form their present like a strong preterit, and from this present form a weak preterit, see 417 ff.; for the anomalous conjugation of verbs in -mi see 426 ff.

356. The 1st sing. pres. ind. ends in the Ps. in -u (more rarely -o, very seldom -e), North. in -o (Class II. of weak verbs in -a, -iga) ; in ancient Kent. charters -u, -o, are found along with -e, the latter finally triumph-

ing; in WS., with but few exceptions, -e is the prevailing termination: Ps. **bindu**, **nērgu**, **sóecu**, **þrówiu**; North. **bindo**, **nērgo**, **sóeco**, **þrów(ig)a**; WS. **binde**, **nērge**, **séce**, **þrówi(g)e**.

NOTE 1. The older -u is retained in WS. in contract forms like **séo**, **téo**, **sléa** (373 ff.), from ***sehu**, ***tíhu**, ***slahu** (according to 111 ff.).

NOTE 2. Apocope of the final vowel sometimes takes place before the pronoun **ic**, especially in the phrase **wénle**, *I ween*, for **wéne ic**; North. **forgeldig**, **willie**, for **forgeldu ic**, **willo ic**, etc. (cf. 408. note 2).

357. The oldest form of the ending of the 2d sing. pres. ind. is -is, usually -es (Goth. -is, -eis), e.g. **bindes**, **hilpes**; in the II. weak conjugation -as (Goth. -as), e.g. **sealfas**; that of the 2d sing. pret. ind. of weak verbs is -des, -tes, e.g. **nēredes**, **sóhtes**. These forms frequently prevail in the oldest texts, almost to the exclusion of others, but are afterwards supplanted by -est, -ast, -dest.

NOTE. Simple -s seems to hold its place longest in Kent.; for example, it is still the normal ending in the Kent. Glosses. The -st establishes itself first in the monosyllabic forms of contract verbs (373 ff.), and the verbs in -mi (427 ff.). For the origin of this final -t cf. 202. 5. In EWS. the final group -sð is very common: **bindesð**, **nēresð**, **eardasð**, **táldesð**, etc. (cf. 196).

358. The normal ending of the 3d sing. pres. ind. of strong verbs, and of the first class of weak verbs, is -eð, from former -ið (= Goth. -ip, -eip), which is often retained as -ith, -it, in the oldest MSS. like Ep. On the contrary, the ancient texts often have -id, -ed (perhaps clerical errors, or to be judged in the light of 199. note), and likewise -et, which is sometimes retained afterward (e.g., frequently in Kent. Gl.). In North. -es (-æs, -as, -æð, -að) disputes the predominance with -eð; WS. Kent. Ps. **binded** (for **bint**, see 359. 3), North. **binded**, -es, -æs, -as, -æð, -að, etc.

359. In the 2d and 3d sing. ind. of the verbs just mentioned, the e of the termination -es(t), -eð is frequently syncopated. As regards this syncopation, there are marked discrepancies in the various dialects and documents.

NOTE 1. In the oldest WS. MSS., like Cura Past., syncope has already assumed prominence. At a later period the fuller etymological forms frequently occur; such are stqndeð, fealleð, blóweð, for older stqnt, fielð, bléwð, etc. (see also 371. note). It is likewise common in Kent., being the rule in the Kent. Gl. On the other hand, it is as good as unknown in the Ps. and North., and its absence is a valuable characteristic of these dialects.

The following rules apply when, in consequence of syncope, radical final consonants are brought into contact with the -s(t), -ð, of the ending.

1) Gemination is simplified: **winnan**, **winst**, **winð**; **feallan**, **fielst**, **fielð**; **hliehhan**, **hliehst**, **hliehð**; **yppan**, **ypst**, **ypð** (ypt).

2) d before -s(t) is usually converted to t: **findan**, **fintst** (**findst**); **stqndan**, **stqntst** (**stqndst**); **ondráedan**, **ondráetst**; or is dropped: **finst**, **stqnst**. g before -s(t) and -ð frequently becomes h, and sometimes c, especially in later MSS.: **stígan**, **stígst** and **stfhst**, **stígð** and **stfhð** (214. 1). Before these endings e is occasionally converted to h in the later texts.

3) d and t are fused with the ð of the termination to t, which often becomes tt after vowels: **findan**, **fint**; **berstan**, **birst**; **bídan**, **bít**, **bitt**; **etan**, **it**, **itt**; weak **séndan**, **sént**; **festan**, **fæst** (EWS. likewise **fæsð**, according to 196); **grétan**, **grét**; **hwéttan**, **hwétt**, etc.

4) ð + ð is always simplified after consonants, and usually after vowels: **weorðan**, **wierð**; **cweðan**, **cwið**; **cýðan**, **cýð(ð)**.

5) *s + ð* often becomes *st*: **céosan**, **cést**; **weaxan**, **wiext** (EWS. also **wiexð**, according to 196). In like manner **yppan** yields **ypt**, and **fleón**, **fliht**; but the *ð* uniformly remains after *c*: **wiercð**, **ðyncð**, **lýcð**, etc.

NOTE 2. In consequence of the contraction of *s + ð* to *st*, the 2d and 3d pres. sing. often become identical.

360. 1) All three persons of the plur. pres. ind., together with the 2d plur. imp., end in *-að* (for **-anð*; cf. Goth. *-and*). The older MSS. have now and then *-at*, *-ad* (cf. 358); in North. the *-að* interchanges with *-as* (*-æs*, *-es*, *-æð*, *-eð*): **bindað**, North. **bindas**, etc.

2) But should one of the pronouns **wē** or **gē** stand immediately after the verb, a shorter ending *-e* frequently takes the place of *-að*: **binde wē**, **binde gē**, along with **wē**, **gē bindað** (and **bindað wē**, **gē**).

In like manner, there occur abbreviated forms of the 1st and 2d plur. pret. ind., especially of the preteritive presents, *e.g.*, **móte wē**, **ðurfe wē**, **cóme gē**, **sóhte gē**, with *-e* instead of *-o*, *-u*.

NOTE. The latter forms are still preserved in North.: *e.g.*, **wälla wē**, *we will*; **nutu wē**, *we know not*; **embigto wē**, *we have served*; **maga gē**, *you can*; **nuutu gle**, *you know not*; **sälđo gē**; along with *-i*, *-e*, more frequent in the 2d plur.: **plægde gē**, **hæfdl gē**, **nutl gē**, **oncneugl gē**, etc. This apocope was originally confined to final *-n*, that is, it affected only the preterit and the adhortative forms of the present (-an and optatival -en, the latter specially employed in the negative imperative); hence, *-e* for *-að* is entirely wanting in North. and Ps., while in WS. the abbreviation has made its way into the indicative and the genuine imperative.

361. The pres. opt. has in the sing. the ending *-e*, as in **binde** (anciently likewise *-æ*, North. often *-a*); in the plur. usually *-en* or *-an*, as in **binden**, **bindan** (in ancient MSS. also *-æn*, and in later WS. *-on*); in North., with apocope of the *-n*, **binde**, **-æ**, **-a**, as in the sing.

362. The 2d sing. imp. of strong verbs has no termination, except in the case of the short stems, which form their present in Germanic with **-jo-** (372); these, like the original short stems of the first weak class, have the ending **-e**, formerly **-i**, while the corresponding long stems are without termination (according to 410. 3). The adhortative form of the 1st plur. in **-an** is not common, being supplanted in many documents by the corresponding optative in **-en** (for **bindē wē**, etc., see 362. 2).

363. 1) Beside the regular infinitive ending in **-an**, **bindan**, the older (WS.) texts have less commonly **-on**, **bindon**. In North. the final **-n** suffers apocope, and the vowel **-a** is often weakened to **-æ**, **-e**: **binda**, **bindæ**, **bindē**, *bind*. The inflected form of the infinitive generally ends in **-anne**, but older MSS. have also **-enne** (-ene) and **-onne**: **bindenne**, **bindene**, **bindonne**; while in LWS. the termination **-ende** is to be found.

NOTE. In a few instances the uninflected infinitive stands for the inflected: **tō bindan** for **tō bindanne**, etc.

2) The usual ending of the present participle is **-ende**, older **-ændi**, seldom **-indi** (so in Ep.); **-onde** rarely occurs.

364. The plur. pret. ind. has in the oldest texts (so in Ps. and generally in Rush.¹) the ending **-un**, **bundun**, **sóhtun**; next occurs **-on**, **bundon**, **sóhton** (WS. and North.); subsequently often **-an**, **bundan**, **sóhtan** (sporadic instances as early as Cura Past., Lind., Rush.); rarely **-en** (**bunden**, Rush.).

NOTE. Apocope of final **-n** does not occur here in North.

365. The pret. opt. has in the sing. the ending **-e**, **bunde**, **sóhte** (seldom North. **-a**, **bunda**); in the plur.

originally **-en**, **bunden**, **sóhten**, quite distinct from that of the indicative. Subsequently, however, the **-on**, **-an**, of the indicative invades the territory of the optative, and the termination of the 2d sing. indicative is sometimes found in the preterit optative of weak verbs: **sealdest**, **fyligdest**, **mihtest**, etc.

NOTE. In North. the plur. generally has **-e** with apocope of the **-n**, or even **-o**, **-on**, with more or less complete levelling under the indicative termination.

366. The past participle of verbs without prepositional prefix is usually compounded with the particle **ge-**, older **gl-**, as in German: *e.g.*, **gebunden**, **geholpen**, **genéred**, **gefremed**, etc. Yet forms without **ge** are found, mainly from strong verbs.

As regards the endings, the past participle of strong verbs has in the older texts, in addition to the regular ending **-en**, as in **(ge)bunden**, the rare termination **-on** (**-an**, **-un**), declined **-one**, etc., or rarely **-in-** in the inflected forms. For the terminations of the weak verbs see **402, 406, 413, 415**.

II. Strong Verbs.

A. THE CONJUGATION OF THE STRONG VERBS.

367. Paradigms.

1. ACTIVE.

PRESENT.—*Indicative.*

REGULAR VERBS.			CONTRACT VERBS.		
Sg. 1. binde	helpe	bidde	téo	téo	séo
2. { bindest ,	hilp(e)st	{ bidest ,	tihst	tiehst	siehst
{ bintst		{ bitst			sleihst
3. { bindes ,	hilp(e)s	{ bides ,	tihs	tiehs	siehs
{ bint		{ bit			sleihs
Plur. bindað	helpað	biddað	téoð	téoð	séoð
					sléað
					fóð

Optative.

REGULAR VERBS.

Sing.	blinde	helpe	bidde	téo	téo	séo	sléa	fó
Plur.	binden	helpen	bidden	téon	téon	séon	sléan	fón

Imperative.

Sg. 2.	bind	help	bide	tíh	téoh	seoh	sleah	fóh
Pl. 1.	bindan	helpan	biddan	téon	téon	séon	sléan	fón
2.	bindað	helpað	biddað	téoð	téoð	séoð	sléað	fóð

Infinitive.

bindan helpan biddan | téon téon séon sléan fón

Participles.

Regular Verbs: bindende, helpende, biddende

Contract Verbs: téonde, téonde, séonde, sléande, fónde.

PRETERIT. — *Indicative.*

REGULAR VERBS.

Sg. 1.	bond	healp	bæd	táh	téah	seah	slög, -h	feng
2.	bunde	hulpe	bæde	tige	tuge	sáwe	slóge	fenge
3.	bond	healp	bæd	táh	téah	seah	slög, -h	feng
Plur.	bundon	hulpon	bædon	tigon	tugen	sáwon	slógon	fengon

Optative.

Sing.	bunde	hulpe	bæde	tige	tuge	sáwe	slóge	fenge
Plur.	bunden	hulpen	bæden	tigen	tugen	sáwen	slógen	fengen

Participles.

bunden holpen beden | tigen togen sewen slægen fongen

2. PASSIVE.

Sing. Ind., 1st and 3d: hárte

Plur., 1st, 2d, and 3d: hárton

NOTE. This is the sole relic of the original passive in OE. hárte corresponds to the Goth. *haitada*, *I am called*; the plur. hárton is constructed on the model of the weak preterits. Both forms are used indifferently as presents and preterits.

1) PRESENT.—*Regular Verbs.*

368. Like **bindan** and **helpan** are conjugated all the regular strong verbs, as well of the ablaut as of the reduplicating class. With **bindan** are to be grouped all the verbs whose radical vowel undergoes neither **i-** nor **u-umlaut**, including Class I. (382), Class III. 1 (386. 1) of ablaut verbs, and such of the reduplicating verbs as have the radical vowel **æ** = Goth **é** (395. A. b). In the case of other verbs, regard must be had to the effects of breaking, and of **u-** and **i-umlaut**.

369. Verbs with breaking, like **weorpan** (388), **feilan** (396. a), retain it through all the forms of the present, though frequently modified by **i-umlaut** in the 2d and 3d sing. indicative (371).

370. **u-** and **o-umlaut** do not usually occur in WS.; but in the Ps., and less regularly in North., both umlauts appear before a single consonant. They are therefore found in ablaut classes IV. and V., in the infinitive, present participle, 1st sing. indicative, the plur. indicative and plur. imperative, but not in the 2d or 3d sing. indicative, 2d sing. imperative, nor in the optative. Examples :

WS.	PS.	NORTH.
Infinitive: beran	beoran	be(a)ra
Participle: berende	beorende	be(a)rende
Ind.: Sg. 1. bere	beoru	bero
2. birest	bires	beres
3. bireð	bireð	bereð
Plur. berað	beorað	be(a)rað
Optative: bere	bere	bere
Imp.: Sg. 2. ber	ber	ber
Pl. 1. beran	beoran	be(a)ra
2. berað	beorað	be(a)rað

NOTE. Only seldom are forms found in WS. with **u**-, **o**-umlaut, like **beoran**, **beorað**, **beorende**; that they formerly existed in greater numbers is proved by the frequent occurrence of forms like 2d sing. **blerest**, 3d sing. **blereð**, later **byrest**, **byreð** (by umlaut from ***beoris**, ***beorlð**, with transfer of the **eo** from the 1st sing. ***beornu**).

In North. the **u**-umlaut is wanting in the 1st sing. ind. Rush.¹ is here ranged in the main on the side of North., though the forms with **u**-umlaut are somewhat less common.

371. i-umlaut properly belongs only to the 2d and 3d sing. present indicative, and is frequently found in these two forms; but not infrequently there is a substitution of the unchanged vowel belonging to the other present forms. In this respect there is no unanimity among the various dialects.

NOTE. In respect to the use of umlaut, WS. takes the lead. Its earliest documents, like the Cura Past., exhibit umlaut of every vowel capable of undergoing it, especially in the syncopated forms (359): **helpan**, **hilpð**; **beran**, **bired**, **blereð** (370. note); **weorpan**, **wierpð**; **faran**, **fereð**; **weaxan**, **wlexð**; **feallan**, **fielð**; **stqndan**, **stent**; **enáwan**, **enáewð**; **hátan**, **háet**; **flówan**, **fléwð**; **lúcan**, **lýeð**; **lútan**, **lýt**; **héawan**, **híewð**; **céasan**, **cíesð**, etc. The same manuscripts, however, likewise have forms without umlaut; in particular, the verbs containing **a** in the radical syllable, like **faran**, generally have **æ** instead of **e**: **farest**, **færeð**. In certain later documents the umlaut is the rule only in verbs whose radical syllable contains **e**, **eo**: **helpan**, **hilpeð**; **beran**, **bireð**, **byreð**; **weorpan**, **wyrpeð**; while in the other classes of verbs the prevalent forms are those without umlaut (and with fuller ending, 359. note): **weaxeð**, **fealleð**, **stqndeð**, **enáweð**, **háteð**, **flóweð**, **búgeð**, **héaweð**, **céoseð**, etc.

Kentish is very irregular in respect to this umlaut, the verbs of the II. and III. ablaut classes often remaining unchanged. On the whole, it inclines to follow the WS. rule. The Psalter takes cognizance only of the variation between **e** and **i** (92): **helpan**, **hilpeð**; **beran**, **bireð**; **stregdan**, **strigdes**; (so also **feolan**, **fileð**, for the ethlipsis of **h**, (218); but **weorpan**, **worpeð**; **fearan**, **fereð** (151. 1); **fallan**, **fallað**; **stqndan**, **stqndeð**; **enáwan**, **enáweð**; **flówan**, **flóweð**; **lúcan**, **lúceð**; **céasan**, **céoseð**, etc. Notwithstanding what has been said above regarding verbs with radical **e**, this vowel is not seldom retained, especially where the stem ends in a single consonant. Verbs

with radical **ea** (breaking) often exhibit syncope in the later texts without umlaut change: **fealst**, **weaxt**. Verbs of the VI. ablaut class frequently retain radical **a** in the imp. sing.: **far**, **wiðsac**, etc.

In North. the true **t**-umlaut is wanting; yet original **e** appears as **e** unobscured by the **u**-umlaut of the remaining forms (370): cf. **helpa**, **helpes**; **beara**, **bereð**, in contrast with **cearfia**, **cearfed**; **worpa**, **worped**; **fara**, **færeð**; **stonda**, **stondeð**; **háta**, **háteð**, etc. In like manner the **i** of **nioma** (390. note 2) remains as **i**: **nioma**, **nimeð**.

Verbs in -jo-.

372. Like **biddan** are inflected the verbs **sittan**, **fricg(e)an**, **lieg(e)an** (391. 3), **hæbban**, **hlehhhan**, **scieppan**, **stęppan**, **seçððan** (392. 4), which form their present in Germ. with **jo**. The discrepancies are confined to the present, which conforms in all respects to the conjugation of the short-stemmed weak verbs of the first class (paradigm **frēmman**, 408).

The paradigm **nērian** (408) is followed by the strong verbs **swērian** (392. 3); the paradigm of the long stems, **dēman** (differing from that of the strong verbs only by the invariable umlaut of the radical syllable), is followed by **wépan**, *weep* (396).

NOTE. In North. the sing. imp. of the short stems is devoid of ending: **bid**, **hēf**, instead of **bide**, **hēfe** (cf. 410. note 4).

Contract Verbs.

373. Contract verbs are those whose stems originally ended in **h**; this was lost before vowels (218), and the adjoining vowels were then contracted. Here belong the verbs of the following ablaut classes: I. **téon**, **ðéon**, **wréon**, **léon**, **séon** (383); II. **fléon**, **téon** (384); V. **geféon**, **pléon**, **séon** (391. 2); VI. **fléan**, **léan**, **sléan**, **ðréan** (392. 2); and the reduplicating **fón**, **hón** (395).

374. In WS. and Kent. the **h** is retained in the 2d and 3d sing. present indicative, which have the **i**-umlaut and syncopated ending, and in the 2d sing. imperative (cf. the paradigm **367**); in Ps. and North. it is found only in the sing. imperative.

NOTE. The forms of the Ps. are: 1) Inf. **wréan**; pres. 3d sing. **wrīð**; imp. sing. **wrīh**. 2) Pres. 1st sing. **fléom** (cf. **426 ff.**), 3d sing. **tíð**, plur. **téod**, **fléoð**; opt. plur. **flén**; imp. sing. **téh**; part. **fléonde**. 3) Inf. **séan**, **sian**; ger. **geséonne**; pres. 1st sing. **síð**, **síe**, **gefío**, **gefíie**, 2d sing. **síst**, 3d sing. **síð**, **gefíð** (once **gefihð**, 20. 2, and **gefíht**, 15. 9), plur. **síáð**, **séað**, **séoð**, and **gefíiað**, **gefíeoð**, **gefíeoð**; opt. sing. **sé**, **gefíe**, plur. **sén**, **gefén**; imp. sing. **seh**, **geföh**, plur. **síáð**, **gefíiað**, **gefíeoð**; part. **sfonde**, **sfende**. 4) Pres. 1st sing. **sléa**, **þwéa**, 2d sing. **slés**, **þwés**, 3d sing. **sléð**, **þwéð**, plur. **sléað**; opt. sing. **slé**; imp. **slæh**, **þuach**. 5) Inf. **fón**; pres. 1st sing. **fó** (once **fóu**, 115. 13), 2d sing. **foest**, 3d sing. **foeð** (once **foeht**, 47. 4, i.e. **fést**, **fóð**, **féht**), plur. **fóð**; opt. **foe**, plur. **foen** (i.e. **fó**, **fóen**, cf. the spelling **foe**, **27**. note); imp. sing. **fóh**, plur. **fóð**; part. **fónde**.

In North. the following inflective forms occur: 1) Inf. **giðía**, Rit.; pres. plur. **giðili wē**; opt. sing. **giðil**; part. **giðende**, **wriða** (often **wriða**, **383**. note 2); pres. 3d sing. **wrið**, plur. **wriðað**. 2) Inf. **fléa**; pres. 3d sing. **flíð**, R.² Rit. **fléð**, plur. **fléað**; opt. sing. Rit. **flee**, **flii**, **flíæ**; imp. sing. **fléh**, plur. **fléað**; part. **fleende**, Rit. 3) Inf. **séa**; pres. 1st sing. **séom**, **slum**, 2d sing. **síst**, 3d sing. **sfíð**, plur. **séað**; opt. sing. **sí**; imp. sing. **seh** (also **sih**, **sligh**, Rit.), plur. **séað**; part. **seende**, **segende**. 4) Inf. **slá**, **slé**; pres. 1st sing. **slá**, 2d sing. **sláes**, 3d sing. **sléð**, plur. **sláð**, **sléð**; imp. sing. **sláh**, plur. **ofslá wē**; part. **slénde**; pres. 1st sing. **þwá**, 2d sing. **þwás**, 3d sing. **þwáð**, plur. **þwáð**; opt. sing. **þwá**; imp. **þwáh**. 5) Inf. **fóa**; pres. 2d sing. **foes**, 3d sing. **foeð** (i.e. **fés**, **fóð**), plur. **fóað**, **fóeð** (**fóð**?); opt. **foe** (**fó**?); imp. **fóh**, plur. **fóað** (**gefíeon** is weak in North.: **gíféage**, pret. **gíféade**, according to Class II.).

2) PRETERIT.

375. The preterits of the contract verbs do not differ from those of the regular conjugation, since the **h** is either final or has undergone grammatical change to **g** or **w**.

376. **u**-umlaut is assumed in the Ps. and North. by the plur. indicative of the strong verbs of the first ablaut class; the Ps. has **eo**: **steogun**, **áreosun** (cf. also **weotan**, *know*, **420**. note); the North. usually **io**: **driofun**, **riosun**. In WS. this umlaut is only sporadic.

377. **i**-umlaut properly belongs to the 2d sing. indicative and the whole optative (cf. OS. forms like 2d sing. indicative **bundi**, 1st and 3d sing. optative **bundi**, plur. **bundfn**). It is no longer found, however, except in certain optatives of the preteritive presents (**422 ff.**), and in isolated examples like **hwyrfe** (Dan. 211), **wyrde** (Rit. 114), **hliepen** (Cura Past. 214. 7).

3) PAST PARTICIPLES.

378. In the older language a few verbs sometimes have **i**-umlaut in the past participle, alternating with the unchanged radical vowel, though the mutated vowel is, as a rule, afterward lost. Here belong especially those with original **ag**: **geslēgen**, **geðwēgen**, subsequently only **geslægen** (*geslagen*), **geðwægen** (also **geðwogen**); very frequently **cymen** along with **cumen**, sporadically **geðræwen** along with **geðräwen**, **gescyfen** along with **gescofen**, **gedén** (North. **gedéon**, cf. **429**), **betygen** along with **betogen** and **betigen**, from **téon**, *censure* (**383**. note 3). So likewise the participial adjective **áegen**, *own*, along with **ágen** (Goth. *aigins*).

NOTE. In EWS. are sometimes found participles like **geðliegen**, **gewieten**, **gewrieten**, with **o**- and **i**-umlaut (**109**; **100**).

B. TENSE-FORMATION OF THE STRONG VERBS.

1) ABLAUT VERBS.

379. *The tense stems.* The forms of the OE. ablaut verbs may all be referred to four stems, which are called tense stems. These are

- 1) the present stem, to which belong all the forms of the present;
- 2) the first preterit stem, to which belong only the 1st and 3d sing. preterit indicative;
- 3) the second preterit stem, comprising the 2d sing. indicative, the plur. indicative, and the whole preterit optative;
- 4) the stem of the past participle, from which only the latter is derived.

As representatives of these four stems, the following principal parts may serve: 1) the 1st sing. present indicative or the infinitive; 2) the 1st sing. preterit indicative; 3) the 1st plur. preterit indicative; 4) the past participle.

380. *Grammatical change.* Those verbs whose present stem ends in a surd spirant regularly experience grammatical change in the 3d and 4th stem: **céosan, céas, curon, coren** (384); **lifðan, láð, lidon, liden** (382); **téon, téah, tugon, togen** (384); **séon, seah, sáwon, sewen** (391. 2). The law is, however, often violated by the occurrence of the grammatical change in the 2d stem, as in **sléan, slög, slógon, geslægen** (392. 2).

381. *The ablaut series.* The variation of radical vowel in the four stems of the word takes place within certain well-defined groups or series, which are called ablaut series. Of these series the Germanic verb recognizes

six. Arranging the vowels according to the order of the four stems, the series form the following system:

1ST STEM.	2D STEM.	3D STEM.	4TH STEM.
I. . . . i	ai	i	i
II. . . . eu	au	u	u
III. . . . e, i	a	u	u, o
IV. . . . e, i	a	é	u, o
V. . . . e, i	a	é	e
VI. . . . a	é	é	a

NOTE. For the variation of e and i, u and o, see 45. 2, 3.

The much more complicated system of OE. results from the foregoing by taking account of the changes which the Germanic vowels have experienced in OE. (49 ff.). Further particulars will be given in the following paragraphs.

382. *Class I.* Verbs of the First Ablaut Class: i, á, i (eo, io, 107), i (ie, 378. note); e.g., grípan, gráp, gripon (griopun), gripen, seize; with grammatical change in 3d and 4th stem, like sníðon, snáð, snidon, sniden, cut.

NOTE 1. Like grípan are inflected nípan, grow dark, rípan, reap; clífan, adhere, drífan, drive, hlífan (?), threaten, belífan, remain, serífan, prescribe, shrive, swífan, revolve; bítan, bite, drítan (?), cacare, flítan, contend, hnítan, thrust, scítan, cacare, slítan, tear, besmítan, defile, ðwítan, hew, gewítan, go, ætwítan, scold, twit, wlítan, look, wrítan, write; bídan, bide, enídan, beat, glídan, glide, gnídan, rub, hlídan, cover, rídan, ride, slídan, slide, wrídan, grow; blícan, shine, sícan, sigh, snícan (?), creep, strfeán, go, swícan, abandon, tícan (?), cure, wícan, yield; fígan (?), parch, hnfgan, bow, mfgan, mingere, sígan, sink, stígan, ascend; cínan, gape, ácwínan, dwínan, disappear, gínan, yawn, hrínan, touch, hwínan (?), hiss, rínan, rain, scínan, shine (pret. scán, scéán, 76), ðwínan (?), grow soft; árfsan, arise, gerísan, befit; spíwan, spew; míðan, avoid, oferswíðan, subdue, wríðan, bind. Like sníðan are conjugated clíðan (?), adhere, líðan, go, serfíðan, proceed.

NOTE 2. The past part. of **seríðan** occurs as **scriðen**.

NOTE 3. The radical vowel of **ripan** is short in the Anglian dialect.

383. The verbs **téon**, *censure*, **ðéon**, *thrive*, **wréon**, *cover*, North. **ðía**, **wrífa**, Ps. **wréan** (for ***tíhan**, etc., cf. Goth. **teihan**, **þeihan**), have lost the **h** in certain forms of the present which have then undergone contraction (373), but retain the **h** in the 1st and 3d sing. preterit, and convert it into **g** in the 3d and 4th stems (380) : **wréon**, **wrah**, **wrigon**, **wrigen**. In consequence of contraction in the present, they frequently pass over into Class II. in WS.: **wréon**, **wréah**, **wrugon**, **wrogen**, after models like **téon**, **téah**, **tugon**, **togen**, *draw* (384).

NOTE 1. The lexicons and grammars often cite infinitives like ***síhan**, ***tíhan**; these are nowhere to be met with in the literature, and are falsely deduced from forms in which the **h** is regularly preserved (374).

NOTE 2. The **g** of the 3d and 4th stems is occasionally transferred to the 2d stem: **ðág**, **wrah**; in North. **wríga** (along with **wrífa**) it even penetrates into the 1st.

NOTE 3. **ðéon**, in addition to the pret. plur. **ðígon**, **ðígon**, part. **ðígen**, **ðígen**, likewise forms a pret. plur. **ðíngon**, part. **ðíngen**, according to Class III. (386). **téon**, *accuse*, has in the past part. **týgen**, with i-umlaut, besides **tígen** and **togen**.

NOTE 4. Like **téon** are inflected the 1st and 2d stems of **léon**, *lend*, **séon**, *sift* (Goth. **leihwan**, ***seihwan**), pret. **láh**, *leah*, **sáh** (?). The past. part. of the latter verb is **síwen**, **seowen**, as well as (be)**séon**.

384. Class II. Verbs of the Second Ablaut Class: **éo**, **ea**, **u**, **o** (Goth. **iu**, **au**, **u**, **u**), like **béodan**, **béad**, **budon**, **boden**, *beg*, or with grammatical change in 3d and 4th stem, like **céasan**, **céas**, **curon**, **coren**, *choose*, **séoðan**, **séað**, **sudon**, **soden**, **seethe**, **téon** (North. **téa**, for ***téohan**, ***téhan**), **téah**, **tugon**, **togen**, *draw*.

NOTE 1. So are also inflected:

a) Without grammatical change: **créopan**, *creep*, **dréopan**, *drop*, **géopan**, *receive*; **cléofan**, *cleave*, **héofan** (?), *lament*, **réofan**, *shatter*

(with part. **rosen**, **berosen**); **bréotan**, *break*, **fléotan**, *flow*, **géotan**, *pour*, **gréotan**, *weep*, **hléotan**, *cast lots*, **néotan**, *enjoy*, **réotan**, *fall*, **scéotan**, *shoot*, **spréotan**, *sprout*; **þéotan**, *howl*, **aðréotan**, *weary*; **créodan**, *crowd*, **hréodan**, *adorn*, **léodan**, *grow*, **réodan**, *redden*; **abréoðan**, *frustrate*; **réocan** (North. **réca**), **sméocan** (North. **sméca**, *sméca*, perhaps weak), *smoke*; **dréogan**, *endure*, **fléogan**, *fly* (Ps. **flégan**, North. **fléga**), **léogan**, *lie*; **bréowan**, *brew*, **céowan**, *chew*, **hréowan**, *rue*, **þréowan**, *agonize*, and probably North. ***spéoftan**, *spit* (pret. **spéast**, plur. **spéafston**, **spéofton**), which was perhaps originally a weak verb of the 3d conjugation.

b) With grammatical change: **dréosan**, *fall*, **fréosan**, *freeze*, **hréosan**, *fall*, **forléosan**, *lose*, ***héoðan**, *despoil*, **séoðan**, *seethe*, **fléon** (North. **fléa**), *flee*.

NOTE 2. The verbs **fléogan** and **fléon** are frequently confounded in LWS. The verb **héofan** is sometimes weak, and takes, as a strong verb, the irregular sing. pret. **hóf**, pret. plur. **héofon**. An exceptional form is the part. **aðrúten**, *swollen*. The part. **begroren**, Sat. 52, perhaps belongs under b.

385. The verbs **slúpan**, *slip*, **súpan**, *taste*, **dúfan**, *dive*, **scúfan**, *shove*, **hrútan**, *snore*, **lútan**, *bow*, **strúdan**, *devastate*, **brúcan**, *enjoy*, **lúcan**, *lock*, **súcan**, **súgan**, *suck*, **búgan**, *bow*, **smúgan**, *creep*, have in the present **ú** instead of **éo** (cf. Goth. **lúkan**), but are otherwise regular: **lúcan**, **léac**, **lucon**, **locon**.

NOTE 1. The past part. of **scúfan** is **scufen** and **sceufen** (76); in North. likewise **scyfen**, with i-umlaut. Later WS. forms of **scúfan** are **scéufan**, **scéofan**.

NOTE 2 (to 384. 385). The verbs whose stems end in gutturals have in the Ps. and North. **é** for **éo** and **ea** in the 1st and 2d stem (163. 165) pret.: **téh**, **fléh**, **flég**, **bég**, **bréc**, etc. = WS. **téah**, **fléah**, **fléag**, **béag**, **bréac**.

386. Class III. Verbs of the Third Ablaut Class: Goth. **i**, **a**, **u**, **u**. This class includes in OE. three main sub-divisions:

1) Verbs in nasal + consonant take the ablaut series **i**, **q** (**a**, 65), **u**, **u**: e.g., **bindan**, **bqnd** (**band**), **bundon**, **bunden**, *bind*.

NOTE 1. So are also inflected **findan**, *find*, **grindan**, *grind*, **hrindan**, *thrust*, **swindan**, *vanish*, **ȝindan**, *swell*, **windan**, *wind*; **ȝrintan**, *swell*; (*on-*)**ginnan**, *begin*, **linnan**, *cease*, **sinnan**, *meditate*, **spinnan**, *spin*, **winnan**, *labor*; **clingan**, *shrink*, **erkingan** (*erinecan*), *fall*, **singan**, *sing*, **springan**, *spring*, **stingan**, *sting*, **swingan**, *swing*, **ȝringan**, *throne*, **wringan**, *wring*; **drinecan**, *drink*, **ȝewinecan**, *vanish*, **serinecan** (*seringan*), *shrink*, **sincan**, *sink*, **slincan**, *creep*, **stincan**, *stink*, **swinecan**, *swink*; **climban** (*climman*), *climb*; (*ge*)**limpan**, *happen*, **rimpan**, *winkle*; **crimman**, *cram*, **grimman**, *rage*, **hlímmán**, *roar*, **serimman**, *wither*, **swimman**, *swim*.

NOTE 2. Here belong also **iernan** (*irnan*, *yrrnan*, Ps. *fornan*, North. *forna*), *run*, and probably **beornan**, North. *beorna*, *bearna*, *burn* (Goth. *rinnan*, *brinnan*), with metathesis (179), pret. **orn**, *born*, later **arn**, *barn*, for **rquñ*, **brqnn*, subsequently with regular ablaut WS. *earn*, *bearn*. The form **rinnan** is occasionally found, especially in **gerinnan**, *curdle*, though the latter now and then exhibits metathesis; the causative **aernan** may also be compared with the causative **gerennan**, *curdle*. Isolated forms are **ȝungon**, *ȝungen*, from **ȝéon**, *thrive* (383. note 3). **findan** sometimes has a preterit **funde** in WS., after the manner of the weak preterits. In EWS. *swingan* takes the past participle **sungen**.

NOTE 3. In North. all these verbs have **a** in the 2d stem, although there is no other exception in North. (at least in Lind.) to the rule by which **a** becomes **o** before nasals: **ongann**, **band**, **fand**, **dranc**, **gelamp**, *barn*, etc. As the vowels were certainly lengthened in North. before nasals (168), it is justifiable to assume that the **a** here follows the pattern of ablaut Class I.: **binda** - **bānd**, like **grípa** - **gráp**. The forms containing **u**, like **fund**, **drunc**, *gelump*, now and then occurring in the editions, depend upon false readings of the manuscripts: **serinecan** has pret. plur. **seriungon** (L. Mt. 13. 6), part. **forserluncean** (L. Mt. 12. 10), **ȝescryuncan** (Rit. 24. 1) along with **gescruncan** (L. Luc. 6. 6).

387. 2) Verbs in **I + consonant** have the ablaut series **e**, **ea** (**ā**, Ps. and North. only **ā**), **u**, **o**: e.g., **helpan**, **healp** (**hālp**), **hulpon**, **holpen**, *help*.

NOTE 1. Thus are inflected **delfan**, *delve*, **belgan**, *be angry*, **swelgan**, *swallow*, **beteldan**, *cover*, **meltan**, *melt*, **sweltan**, *die*, **bellan**, *bellow*, **swellan**, *swell*. The following verbs exhibit slight variations in WS.: **giellan**, *yell*, **gieldan**, *yield*, **gielpa**, *boast*, **scelfan** (?), *shake*, **scielan** (?), *clash*, with **ie**, **i**, **y**, in the present on account of initial **g**, **sc**

(75), while Ps. and North. preserve the **e** (157); **meolcan**, *milk*, **seolean**, *grow languid*, generally have **eo** in the present; exceptions are infinitive **melcan** (Lind. 2. 142), **ásealcan** (Gen. 2167).

NOTE 2. **feolan**, *adhere, reach*, Goth. **filhan**, loses its **h** in the pres. before a vocalic termination, but retains it in the pret. **fealh**; the plur. is rarely **fulgon**, usually **fáelon** (according to 390), the part. **folen**. A pres. **felgau**, which is often assumed, does not exist.

NOTE 3. The adj. **collenferhð**, *fierce-minded*, points to a lost verb ***cwellan**, *swell*.

388. 3) Verbs in **r** or **h** + consonant have the ablaut series **eo**, **ea** (North. also **a**), **u**, **o**: e.g., **weorpan**, **wearp**, **wurpon**, **worpen**, *cast*, or **feohtan**, **feaht**, **fuhton**, **fohten**, *fight*; with grammatical change, **weorðan**, **wearð**, **wurdon**, **worden**, *become*.

NOTE 1. So are inflected **ceorfan**, *cut, carve*, **deorfan**, *labor*, **hwærfan**, *turn*, **sceorfan**, *gnaw*, **steorfan**, *die*, **sweorfan**, *polish*; **smeortan**, *smart*; **beorgan**, *protect*; **beorcan**, *bark*, **sneorean** (?), *be forgotten*, **sweorean**, *obscure*; ***ceorrán**, *creak*, ***cweorrán**, *inebriate*, **georrán**, *chatter* (likewise with umlaut, **gierran**), and perhaps **seorðan**, *coire*; with **feohtan** belongs ***fleohtan**, *weave*. Here belong also the participles **ástorfen**, *dead*, **sámstorfen**, *half dead*. For **feolan** see 387. note 2.

NOTE 2. The North. forms of **weorpan**, **weorðan**, are **worpa**, **worða** (156. 2); for **hwærfan** Rit. has **hwurfa** (pret. plur. **hurfon**, L. Mt. 23. 15); for **feohtan** Ps. has **fehtan**, North. **fehta**, pret. **fæht** (so the inf. of **hruhtun**, *iniecerunt*, L. Mt. 26. 50, must be set down as **hrehta**); **beorgan**, North. **berga**, according to 162 ff.

389. 4) Other variations, many of which will be at once comprehended by a reference to the phonology, are exhibited by the following verbs:

bregdan , <i>brandish</i>	brægd	brugdon	brogden
stregdan , <i>strew</i>	strægd	strugdon	strogden
berstan , <i>burst</i>	bærst	burston	borsten
þerscan , <i>thresh</i>	þærsc	þurscon	þorseen
frígnan , <i>inquire, ascertain</i>	frægn	frugnon	frugnen
murnan , <i>mourn</i>	mearn	murnon	—
spurnan } <i>tread down</i>	spearn	spurnon	—
spornan }			

NOTE. **bregdan** and **stregdan** often lose their **g**, with lengthening of the preceding vowel: **brédan**, **bréð**, etc., 214. 3 (3d sing. pres. ind. **britt**, 359. 3); the past part. occasionally appears as **bregden** (Phoen. 306, Blick. Hom. 99. 32); **stregdan** is usually weak in WS. prose, and its pret. occurs in North. not only as **strægd**, but also as **strugde** (cf. **funde**, 386. note 2). **berstan** and **þersean** (North. **þærseca**, **þaersca L.**, **þarsca R.**, **þersca Rit.**) stand by metathesis for ***brestan** and ***þrescan** (179). **frignan** (Goth. **fralhnan**) often drops **g** in the polysyllabic forms, and lengthens the preceding vowel: **frínan**, **frægn** (see 214. 3); in its stead LWS. has **frínan**, **frán**, in imitation of Ablaut Class I., though **frunon**, **frunen** remain. Assimilation occurs in **frinnan**, **frunnon**, etc.; other forms are pret. sing. **freng**, pret. plur. **frungon** (186. note), part. **gefriegen**, **gefregen**. The **n** originally belonged only to the pres. of this verb (cf. Goth. **frah**, **fréhum**); a relic of the older conjugation has perhaps been preserved in the pret. plur. **frugan** (R. Mit. 12. 10), and the part. **gefrugen** and **gefriegen**, though the latter perhaps belongs to **frigejan** (391. 3). Instead of **murnan**, **spurnan**, **spornan**, which alone are authorized, the lexicons frequently write ***meornan**, ***speornan**; **murnan** has the weak pret. **murnde** (Andr. 154).

390. Class IV. Verbs of the Fourth Ablaut Class: Goth. **i**, **a**, **é**, **u**, WS. **e**, **æ**, **é**, **o** (Kent. and Ps. **e**, **e**, **é**, **o**, North. **e**, **æ**, **é**, **o**, 150 ff.): e.g., **beran**, **bær**, **báron**, **boren**, **bore**.

NOTE 1. So also are inflected **cwelan**, *die*, **helan**, *conceal*, ***hwelan** (?), *roar*, **stelan**, *steal*; **sceleran**, *shear* (pret. **seear**, plur. **scéaron**, 76), **teran**, *tear*, **þweran**, *stir*; ***striman** (?), *resist*; **brecan**, *break*; here belongs likewise the isolated past part. **gedwolen**, *perverse*; **geðuren**, *forged*, perhaps belongs to **þweran**, but possibly is an error for **geðrifien** (405. 6).

NOTE 2. Peculiarly irregular are:

niman , <i>take</i>	nóm	nómon	numen
cuman , <i>come</i>	e(w)óm	e(w)ómon	cumen , <i>cymen</i>

The opt. pres. of **cuman** (North. **cyma**, rarely **cuma**, inf. also **c(w)ome**), occurs not infrequently (uniformly in Ps.) as **cyme**, with i-umlaut; now and then this **y** occurs in other pres. forms, which do not properly take the umlaut. Instead of **nóm**, **nómon**, LWS. also has **nam**, **námon**, which, according to 68, must be a recent formation.

A form **cwámon**, frequently set down in the books, seems to repose upon no authority. The length of the **ó** in **nóm**, **cóm**, is certified by gemination and accent.

NOTE 3. For u- and o-umlaut in these verbs see 370.

391. Class V. 1) Verbs of the Fifth Ablaut Class : Goth. **i**, **a**, **á**, **i**, WS. **e**, **æ**, **é**, **e** (Kent. and Ps. **e**, **e**, **é**, **e**, North. **e**, **æ**, **é**, **e**, 150 ff.), like **metan**, **mæt**, **máton**, **meten**, *measure*; or with grammatical change, like **cweðan**, **cwæð**, **cwádon**, **cweden**, *say* (North. **cucéða**, **cucéð**, **cucédon**, **cuceden**, along with **cueða**, **cueð**, **cucédon**, **cueden**, according to 156).

NOTE 1. So also are inflected **drepan**, *strike, scrape*; **swefan**, *sleep, wefan, weave*; **fetan**, *fall (?)*; **cnedan**, *knead*, **tredan**, *tread*; **hlecan** (?), *cohere*, **sprecan** (Kent. and LWS. also **specan**), *speak*; **wrecan**, *pursue*; **wegan**, *carry*; **lesan**, *collect*, **genesan**, *recover*; with grammatical change only the defective **wesan** (427). The pres. tense of **plegan**, *play*, is sometimes strong, and then belongs to this class. The past part. of **drepan** is found once as **dropen** (Beow. 2981).

NOTE 2. WS. **glefan**, *give*, **gletan**, *get*, are irregular only in accordance with 75: pret. **geaf**, **geat** (Kent. and Ps. **gef**, **get**, North. **geaf**, **gæt**), plur. **géafon**, **géaton** (non-WS. **géfan**, **gétun**), part. **glefen**, **gleten**, etc.

NOTE 3. **etan**, *eat*, and **fretan**, *devour*, have the pret. sing. **áet**, **fráet**; cf. Goth. **frét**. The length of the **á** rests upon manuscript evidence, and, moreover, is shown to be old (*i.e.*, not due to prolongation) by the North. form **ét** (150. 1).

NOTE 4. For the u- and o- umlaut of these verbs see 370.

2) The verbs **geféon**, *rejoice*, **pléon**, *adventure*, and **héon**, *see*, stand for *-fehon, *plehon, *seh(w)on (373). Their tense formation is :

geféon	gefeah	gefágon	(gefægen)
pléon	pleah	—	—
héon	seah	{ sáwon ságón	{ sewen sawen

NOTE 5. For the conjugation of the present cf. 374. An infinitive ***gefeohan** does not exist; **gefægen** (North. **gefagen**), *glad*, is, like

fægen, properly an adjective, cf. OS. **fagan**. The form **sáwon** is the usual one in WS., **ségon** being rarely if ever found in WS. prose. The past participle is less frequently **gesegen**.

In Ps. and North. the pret. of **séon** is **sæh**, according to 162: plur. **ségun**, -**on**, part. **gesegen**, North. also **gesén**, R.¹ **geséan**. In place of WS. **geféon**, North. has a weak verb **geféage**, belonging to Class II.

3) The verbs **biddan**, *request*, **lieg(e)an**, *lie*, **sittan**, *sit*, form their present in Germ. with **jo** (cf. Goth. **bidjan**), but are otherwise regular: preterit **bæd**, **læg**, **sæt**, participle **beden**, **legen**, **seten**. So, too, **ðieg(e)an**, *take*, and **frieg(e)an**, *inquire*, have the same present formation, but with preterit **ðeah**, **ðah** (besides the weak **ðigede**, **ðigde**, 400. note 1, 401. note 1; the preterit of **friegean** is not found), participle **gefrigen** (**gefrugen**, cf. 389. note).

NOTE 6. The verbs whose stem ends in **g** have in the 3d stem either **æ** or **å**: **wágon**, **lágón**, **ðágón**, and **wágón**, **lágón**, **ðágón**, etc. (57. note 3).

392. Class VI. 1) Verbs of the sixth ablaut class: Goth. OE. **a**, **þ**, **o**, like **faran**, **fór**, **fóron**, **fareñ**, *go*.

NOTE 1. Thus are inflected **alan**, *nourish*, **calan**, *call*, **galan**, *sing*; **grafan**, *grave*, **sc(e)afan**, *shave*; **hladan**, *lade*, **wadan**, *go*; **dragan**, *draw*, **gnagan**, *gnaw*; **acan**, *ache*, **bacan**, *bake*, **sacan**, *dispute*, **sc(e)acan** (Ps. North. **scæcan**, -**a**, 162), **hasten**; **wascan** (**waxan**), *wash*; **geðracen**, *prepared*, seems also to belong here. To these must be added the isolated pret. **wóe**, *awoke*, **sprang**, which has no corresponding pres. ***wacan**, and hence is usually coupled with the weak verb **wæcan**, *awake*.

NOTE 2. A few of these verbs have **æ** instead of **a** in the past participle: e.g., **gehlæden**, **græfen**, along with **gehladen**, **grafen** (49. 2).

NOTE 3. The irregularities of **sc(e)afan** and **sc(e)acan**, pret. **scéoc**, **scéo**, part. **sc(e)acen**, **scæcen**, are explained in 76. On the other hand, **spqnan** (subsequently also **spqnnan**, cf. 396. a), *instigate*, and likewise WS. **weaxan** (also **wexan**, 101, North. **wæxa**, 162), *grow*, assume the conjugation of the reduplicating verbs (396): pret. **spéon**, **wéox** (though EWS. **spón**, North. **wóx**). The participle **gedafen** (**gedefen**), *befitting*, belongs here.

2) The verbs *fléan*, *flay*, *léan*, *blame*, *sléan*, *strike*, *ðréan*, *wash* (for the present forms of Ps. and North. see 374), have lost a medial *h* (cf. Goth. *slahan*, *þwahan*, and 373). The 1st and 3d sing. preterit has *g*, *lög*, *slög*, *ðwög*, through the influence of the plur. *lógon*, *slógon*, *ðwógon* (380; *lóh*, *slóh*, *ðwóh* are to be judged according to 214. 1). The past participle often has i-umlaut in the older texts: *slegen*, *ðwegen* (or *ðwogen*), but also *beflagen*, *belagen*, *slægen* (*slagen*), *ðwægen*, which afterward prevail exclusively; North. *ðréan*, *ðréén*, *ðwéan*.

3) *stqndan*, *stand*, loses the *n* in the preterits *stód*, *stódon*, but retains it in the participle *stqnden*.

4) The verbs *swēr(i)g(e)an*, *swear*, *hëbban*, *heave*, *hliehhan* (*hlíhhán*, *hlyhhán*, Ps. North. *hlæhha(n)*), *laugh*, *scieppan* (*scippan*, *scyppan*, North. Kent. *scéppan*), *create*, *stëppan* (*staëppan*), *stop*, *scéððan*, *injure*, have a *j* in the present stems, which is lacking in the other forms: preterit *swór* (once *swéor*), *hóf*, *hlóh* (plur. *hlógon*), *scóp* (*scéop*), *stóp*, *scód* (*scéod*, 76); participle *sworen* (once *swaren*), *hafen* and *hæfen*, *scépen* and *scéapen*.

NOTE 4. Along with *scéððan* there is a regular infinitive *sceaðan*; and, conversely, along with *scéod* a weak preterit *scéðede* (400, note 1). In LWS. *hëbban* has weak forms: preterit *hëfde*, past participle *hëfod*.

2) REDUPLICATING VERBS.

393. The same four stems are recognizable in the reduplicating verb as we have already found in the ablaut verb (379); only that in the former case they are not so sharply differentiated, the 1st and 4th stems having the same vowel on the one hand, and the 2d

and 3d stems a different vowel on the other. When grammatical change takes place, it applies alike to the 2d, 3d, and 4th stems. The distinguishing characteristic of the reduplicating verbs lies in the manner of forming their preterit.

394. The preterits which originally sprang from reduplication (**352. 1**) are uniformly abbreviated in OE. by contraction. Only a small number of verbs have preserved forms which clearly reveal the manner of their formation: **heht** from **hátan**, *call*, Goth. *haihait*; **reord** from **rádan**, *counsel*, Goth. *rairóþ*; **leole** from **lácan**, *jump*, Goth. *lailaik*; and with more complete disfigurement, (**on**)**drecord** (North. **ondreard**) from (**on**)**drádan**, *dread*; **leort** from **létan**, *let*. To all of these belong collateral forms according to **395**.

NOTE. **heht** is scarcely found, except in the sing.; the plur. is generally, in WS. perhaps exclusively, **héton**, according to **395**. The other forms of this character are less frequent in WS. than in Ps. North., where they predominate to the virtual exclusion of preterits found under **395**.

395. More commonly the contraction leads to complete fusion of the reduplicating with the radical syllable; the product retains either **e**, **é** or **eo**, **éo** as the resultant vowel: *e.g.*, **hátan**, **hét**, **héton**, **háten**, *call*, or **hléapan**, **hléop**, **hléopon**, **hléapen**, *leap*.

- A) The vowel **e**, **é** is preferred by such as have
 - a) original **a** before **n** + consonant: **blóndan**, *blend*;
 - b) WS. **æ**, Goth. Kent. Ps. North. **é**: (**on**)**drádan**, *dread*, **létan**, *let*, **rádan**, *counsel*, **slépan**, *sleep*;
 - c) **á**, Goth. **ai**, except when a **w** follows or precedes: **hátan**, *call*, **lácan**, *jump*, **scádan** (**scéadan**, **76**, preterit **scéd** and **scéad**), *separate*.

To a) belong also the verbs **fón**, *seize*, and **hón**, *hang*, Goth. **fáhan**, **háhan** (**67**); preterit, with grammatical

change, **feng**, **heng**; participle **føngen**, **høngen**, North. also **foen**, **hoen**, i.e. **fœn**, **hœn** (like **dœn**, 429; cf. **bifén**, Crist. 1158), besides **høngen**.

NOTE 1. The **e** of the preterit is undoubtedly long in *b*) and *c*); it seems to have been originally short in *a*), but is afterward lengthened according to 124. 1 (**onfēng**, Lind. Luc. 18. 31).

NOTE 2. In Ps. and North. **slépan** forms the weak preterit **slépte**, Lind. Rit. **slépde**; similarly there occur in WS. **slépte** and **ondráedde**. The weak verb **ráedan**, *read*, has a strong participle **ráeden** (Blickl. 167. 28).

396. b) The diphthong **eo**, **eo**, is retained in the preterit by such as have

a) original **a** before **l**, **n** + consonant: **feallan**, *fall*, **weallan**, *be agitated*; **fealdan**, *fold*, **healdan**, *hold*, **stealdan**, *possess*, **wealdan**, *wield*; **sealtan**, *salt*, **wealtan**, *roll* (North. **wælta**, also weak); **wealcan**, *revolve*; **bønnan**, *summon*, **spønnan**, *join*; **gøngan**, *go*;

b) original **au**: **béatan**, *beat*, **héawan**, *hew*, **hléapan**, *leap*, **ahnéapan**, *pluck*;

c) **o**: **hrópan**, *shout*, **hwópan**, *threaten*; **blótan**, *sacrifice*, **wrótan**, *root*; **flócan** (?), *applaud*; **swógan**, *roar*; and with **i**-umlaut (present formation with **jo**, 372), **wépan**, *weep*; **blówan**, *bloom*, **flówan**, *flow*, **glówan**, *glow*, **grówan**, *grow*, **hlówan**, *low*, **rówan**, *row*, **spówan**, *thrive*;

d) **aw**: **bláwan**, *blow*, **cláwan** (?), *claw*, **enáwan**, *know*, **cráwan**, *crow*, **máwan**, *mow*, **sáwan**, *sow* (likewise **séwan**, Cura Past.), **ðráwan**, *twist*, **wáwan**, *blow*; with **wá**, **wé**: **swápan**, *sweep*, **hwésan** (*hwæsan*?), *wheeze*.

NOTE 1. **gøngan**, **gangan**, **gøngan**, *go*, North. **geonga** (157. 4), - has, besides **geong**, the preterits **gang** (Beow.), **gøngde**, and **éode** (430; the latter probably only in prose; the past participle **gegøngen** is lacking in North.). **geng**, **gieng**, Gen. 626, 834, and **spenn**, Gen. 445, are not genuine OE. To *a*) belongs the stereotyped North. participle **áblønegen**, *indignant*.

NOTE 2. To *b*) belong the isolated participles **éacen**, *great* (cf. Goth. **aukan**, *increase*), and **éaden**, *given, granted*; for North. ***spéafta** (?) see 384. note 1, and for **weaxan**, 392. note 3. A strong preterit of **búan**, *dwell*, past participle **gebún**, **gebúen**, **býn**, is wanting; but its place is supplied by **búde**, **búede**, North. **býde**, **býede**, from the synonymous **búlan**, **búwlan**, North. **býa**. The 3d sing. preterit **genéop**, *ingulfed*, requires an infinitive **genéapan** or **genópan**; and similarly **onréod**, *moistened*, requires **onréadan** or **onródan**.

NOTE 3. The *eo* is certainly long in *b*), *c*), and *d*); it is probably short in *a*), when followed by two consonants, unless secondary lengthening may have taken place.

NOTE 4. Occasionally the plural has contraction of the *eo* with a vowel of the termination, like **réon** for **réowun**, from **rówan**.

NOTE 5. Irregular forms of the preterit in North. are: **blew**, **blewu**, **bleuu**, plur. **blewun**; **cneaw**, **cnæw**, plur. **cneawun**; **speua**, preterit optative; **seaw**; **heu**.

397. The past participle originally has the vowel of the present, though Rush. Mt. 12. 44 has **aswópen** from **swápan** (396), and **wépan** forms the past participle **wópen** as well as **wépen**. Grammatical change, and hence a different vowel, is found only in the participles of **fón** and **hón** (395).

III. Weak Verbs.

398. The weak verbs are mostly derivatives. They are divided into three classes, on the basis of the variation in their derivative suffixes:

- 1) The **jo**-class: its original suffix was Indo-European **-ejo-**, from which was derived Germ. **-jo-** when the radical syllable was short, and **-io-** when it was long (45. 8).
- 2) The **o**-class: its suffix was Germ. **-öjo-**, interchanging with **-o-**.
- 3) The **ai**-class: its suffix was Germ. **-ai-**, interchanging with **-jo-**.

In OE. these relations have been obscured in many ways by subsequent phonetic changes.

399. Only three different stems are to be distinguished in the weak conjugation: those of the present, the preterit, and the past participle. The two latter very frequently approximate in form.

I. FIRST WEAK CONJUGATION.

A) ORIGINAL SHORT STEMS.

400. *Formation of the present stem.* On account of the West Germanic gemination of consonants before *j* (228), the original short stems of this class, exclusive of those ending in *r*, became long in the present (with the exception of the 2d and 3d sing. indicative, 410). There are consequently in OE. two groups of original short stems opposed to each other, such as **nērian** (*nērgan*, *nērigan*, *nērigean*), *save*, and such as **frēmman**, *perform*. All the forms of the present stem have i-umlaut.

NOTE 1. Like **nērian** are also inflected **dērian**, *injure*, **ērian**, *plough*, **fērian**, *carry*, **hērian**, *praise*, **āmerian**, *purify*, **scērian**, *arrange*, **wērian**, *defend*, **bescierian**, *deprive*, **gewērian**, *clothe*, **gewērian**, *weir*, *dam*, **ōwierian** (?), *oppose*, **byrian**, *pertain*, **onhyrian**, *emulate*, **snyrian**, *hasten*, **spyrian**, *inquire*, **styrian**, *stir*. Like **frēmman** form their presents: a) Verbs in *m*, *n*, and the spirants *s*, *θ*, *f*, *g* (reduplicated *bb*, *cg*, 190; 216), e.g., **grēmman**, *provoke*; **trymman**, *confirm*; **ōennan**, *extend*, **wēnnan**, *accustom*, **clynnan**, *sound*, **dynnian**, *hlynnan*, *resound*; **enysan**, *thrust*, **hrissan**, *shake*; **scēθian**, *injure* (also strong, 392. 4), **āswēbban**, *appease*, **wēcg(e)an**, *agitate*, **ōleg(e)an**, *receive* (also strong, 391. 3). b) Verbs in *t*, *d*, like **hwēttan**, *incite*, **lēttan**, *hinder*, **settan**, *set*, **hrēddan**, *rid*, (a)**trēddan**, *investigate*. For the verbs in *l* and *e* see 407.

NOTE 2. In WS., verbs of this class with stems ending in a nasal, a liquid, or a spirant, gradually assume the forms of the o-class, and

pass over to this conjugation. In the Cura Past. certain verbs belonging under *a*), note 1, have become assimilated to the **r**-stems, like **nərlan**: **grəmian**, *provoke*, **ləmlan**, *oppress*, **təmian**, *tame*, **trymlan**, *confirm*, **bəħllan**, *conceal*, **syllan**, *wallow*, **hrislān**, *shake*, **wrəðlan**, *support*. In later documents the transfer to the **o**-class is completely effected, as well in the case of the **r**-verbs such as **nərlan**, **dərlan**, **ərlan**, **byrlan**, **spyrlan**, **styrlan**, as in that of the originally reduplicated stem finals: **frəmian**, **dwəllan**, **həllan**, **ðənian**, **hrislān**, **bəðlan**, even **geswəfian**, *lull*, **heglan**, *hedge*. Of verbs whose stem ends in a short consonant, only **hrəplan**, *touch*, seem to belong here. Verbs with a short stem and irregular preterit, like **ləcgan**—**legde**, and those which are adduced in 407. *a.*, are, with the exception of **dwəllan**, usually exempt from the operation of this rule.

401. Formation of the preterit. 1) The short-stemmed verbs in **r**, and those with **mm**, **nn**, **ss**, **ðð**, **bb**, **eg** in the present (400. note 1), have the ending **-ede** in the preterit; the simple or ungeminated radical final consonant precedes the ending: **nərlan**—**nərede**, **frəmman**—**frəmede**, **ðənnan**—**ðənede**, **cnyssan**—**cnyssede**, **scəððan**—**scəðede**, **swəbban**—**swəfede** (190), **węg(e)an**—**węgede**, etc.; only **ləcg(e)an**, *lay*, always has **legde** without the middle vowel (and **lēde**, 214. 3).

NOTE 1. Such preterits without a middle vowel are occasionally formed from other verbs, e.g., **węgde**, **ulgde**, **cnyssde**; subsequently a transfer of the double consonant of the present to the preterit, **cnyssde**, etc., may take place.

NOTE 2. In LWS. the **-ede** of the preterit is frequently replaced by **-ode** (400. note 2).

2) The verbs in **-d**, **-t**, take the ending **-de**, the latter, however, being assimilated to a preceding **t**: **trəddan**—**trədde**, **səttan**—**sətte** (North. also **satte**, **sætte**, without umlaut).

402. Formation of the past participle. The ending is **-ed**, the gemination of the radical final consonant being simplified as in the preterit: **(ge)nəred**, **(ge)frəmed**,

(ge)ð̄ened, (ge)enysed, (ge)sc̄ed, (ge)w̄ged, (ge)s̄eted, (ge)tr̄ded; the participle of l̄ecg(e)an is again (ge)l̄egd without the middle vowel, to which add (ge)l̄ed (214. 3). In the inflected forms whose termination begins with a vowel, the -e- is retained according to 144, with the exception of those in -t, -d: s̄eted, plur. s̄ette; tr̄ded, plur. tr̄dde (cf. 401. 2). The latter regularly contract, both when uninflected, and before an inflectional suffix beginning with a consonant. The Anglian and Kentish dialects differ from WS. in retaining the vowel.

b) ORIGINAL LONG STEMS AND POLYSYLLABLES.

403. *Formation of the present stem.* The whole present stem of the dissyllabic verbs has i-umlaut, whenever the radical vowel admits; verbs with eo fluctuate according to 100. The derivative j is lost, except after vowels, as in ēfegan, call.

NOTE 1. To this class belongs a large number of verbs like d̄élan, distribute, deal; fyllan, fill; déman, judge; h̄ieran, hear; stíferan, stéoran, steer; strífenan, stréonan, acquire; tréowan, tríewan, believe; ēfjan, announce; gyrdan, gird, etc.

NOTE 2. éawan, show, frequently occurs with umlaut, as in fewan, ýwan; without umlaut it may belong to either the 1st or the 3d class; only apparently destitute of umlaut are héan, elevate (*híchan, from héah, high), and téon, make, furnish, preterit héade, téode.

NOTE 3. Among the polysyllabic verbs the derivatives in -ettan (properly -ettan, Goth. -atjan) are especially to be noted, like bliccetan, lighten, roccettan, utter, sporetan, spur, as well as the compounds which simulate these derivatives, like qndettan, confess, qnettan, incite, orettan, battle, from *andahaltjan, etc. These have gemination of the derivative t, according to 228, although simple t is often written after a short syllable.

404. *Formation of the preterit.* The termination of the preterit is -de, which is attached immediately to

the radical syllable. The *i*-umlaut is retained: **hferan** – **hferde**, **deman** – **démde**.

405. As the consequence of collision between the **d** of the termination and the radical final consonant, there result a number of minor variations from the normal form, which will be easily understood by reference to the phonetic laws. The most important are:

1) Gemination is simplified: **fyllan** – **fylde**, *fill*, **wemman** – **wemde**, *defile*, **afirran** – **ásfirde**, *remove*, **cyssan** – **cyste**, *kiss* (the **t** in accordance with 2).

2) The ending **-de** becomes **-te** after **p**, **t**, **c**, **ss** (simplified according to 1), and **x**: **yppan** – **ypte**, *reveal*, **grétan** – **gréttē**, *greet*, **scēncan** – **scēnctē**, *pour out*, **wýscan** – **wýscete**, *wish*, **fecan** – **feete**, *increase* (but also **flte**, 407. c), **cyssan** – **cyste**, *kiss*, **lixan** – **lixte**, *shine* (but **hyspan** – **hypde**, *mock*, **adwæscan** – **adwæscde**, *extinguish*, **lysan** – **lysde**, *release*, **ræsan** – **ræsde**, *rush*). Another exception is **slépde**, Lind. Rit. (395. note 2). WS. **cemban**, *comb*, has once the preterit **cemde**.

3) **ðd** remains unchanged in the older texts, but subsequently passes into **dd**: **cýðan**, **cýðde** and **cýdde**, *announce*.

4) After a consonant + **d**, **t**, the **d** of the ending is entirely lost: **séndan** – **sénde**, *send*, **gyrdan** – **gyrde**, *gird*, **éhtan** – **éhte**, *persecute*, **þrystan** – **þryste**, *thirst*, etc. Only rarely is the spelling etymological: **fæstte**, **hyhtte**, etc.

5) The verbs in **rw**, like **gierwan**, **gyrwan**, *prepare*, **hierwan**, **hyrwan**, *blaspheme*, **nierwan**, **nyrwan**, *oppress*, **sierwan**, **syrwan**, *deceive*, **smierwan**, **smyrwan**, *anoint*, lose their **w** in the preterit, and have **-ede**, EWS. **-ide**, like the short stems: **gierede**, **sierede**, **smirede**, though

there are also (but not from **gierwan**) later forms like **syrwde**, **syrwede**, and even **syrwode**, according to Class II. With these verbs in **rw**, seem to belong ***wielwan**, *roll*, and **ræswan**, *consider*.

NOTE 1. The Ps. has regularly **gérwan**, preterit **gérrede**, the North for the most part **gearwia** (*färwia*, R.¹), according to the 2d weak class; but preterit **gérrede**, participle **gérred**, beside **gearwade**, participle **gearwad**.

NOTE 2. In respect to the treatment of the **w**, the 2d and 3d sing. present indicative stand on a level with the preterit: **gierest**, **gieroð**, etc., later **glerwest**, **glerweð**, etc.

NOTE 3. **frætwan**, *adorned*, usually forms the preterit **frætwode**, according to Class II., along with **frætwede**; subsequently it even has present forms according to Class II.

6) The verbs **cíegan**, **cigan**, *call, name* (Ps. **cégan**, North. **ceiga**, **ceia**, R.¹ also **cáegan**), from ***kaujan** (176), usually carry over the **g** of the present into that of the preterit: **cíegde**, **cígde** (North. **ceigde**, R.¹ also **cágde**). Only the Ps. has regularly **céde**, if we except the verb **gehégan – gehéde**, *perform, hold*, which is only used in poetry.

NOTE 4. The following verbs are in part very irregular. **þý(a)n**, **þýwan**, **þéon**, *press, pierce*; **hlíewan**, **hléowan**, *warm*, **þrýan** (?), *express, compress*; **scý(a)n**, *suggest, tempt*; ***tý(a)n**, *instruct*. Of these the preterits are **þýde**, **þýdde**, **þýgde**, **þýwde**, **þéwde**, **þéode**, **þrýde**; **scýde**; **týd(d)e**; past participles **geþýd**, **geþéwd**; **gehlýd**, **gehlýwd**; **giþrýd**; **getýd**.

7) The verbs in consonant + **n**, **r**, **l**, which, if regularly formed, should have syllabic **n**, **r**, **l** in the preterit, are very irregular: **némnan**, *name*, has **némde** with loss of the **n**; **efnan**, **ræfnan**, *perform*, frequently **efnde**, **ræfnde**; so likewise North. **hyngra – hyngerde**, *hunger*, **timbra – timberde**, *build*, **déglia – dégelde**, *conceal*; but more frequently these verbs take the ending **-ede** or (especially in the Ps. and North., not till late in WS.)

the **-ode** of Class II.: **n̄emnode**, **efnede** (North. **efnade**); **fréfran** – **fréfrede**, **-ode**, *comfort*; **hyngran** – **hyngrede**, **-ode**; **timbran** – **timbrede**, **-ode**; **díeglan** – **dfeglede**, **díglade**, etc. Here again present forms, according to Class II., are subsequently found: **fréfrian**, **hyngrian**, **timbrian** (cf. 400. note 2).

NOTE 5. An exception to the rule is formed by **eglān**, **eglde**, *affect*.

406. Formation of the past participle. Its ending is **-ed**; in the cases whose termination begins with a vowel the **e** of the **-ed** is syncopated, and the same rules govern the contract of **-d-** with the radical syllable as in the formation of the preterit. The verbs in **t**, **d**, contract in accordance with the rule laid down in 402. Examples of the various types are: **démān** – **gedémed** – **gedémde**; **fyllan** – **gefylled** – **gefylde**, 405. 1; **grétan** – **gegréted** – **gegrétte**; **scéncan** – **gescénced** – **gescéncte**, 405. 2; **cýðan** – **gecýðeð** – **gecýðde**, late **gecýdde**, 405. 3; **séndan** – **gesénd(ed)** – **gesénde**, **éhtan** – **geeéht(ed)** – **geeéhte**, 405. 4; **gierwan** – **gegierwed** – **gegierede**, 405. 5; **cíegan** – **gecíeged** (Ps. **gecéd**, North. **geceiged**) – **gecíegde** (Ps. **gecéde**, North. **geceigde**), 405. 6; **n̄emnan** – **ge-n̄emned** – **gen̄emde**; **timbran** – **getimbred** (**-od**) – **getimbred** (**-ode**), 405. 7, etc.

NOTE. The long stems which here insert **e** in the uninflected forms retain it in LWS., even in inflected forms like **gedémede**, **gefyllede**.

c) IRREGULAR VERBS.

407. Some Germanic verbs join the termination of the preterit and past participle directly to the radical syllable, without the intervention of a middle vowel. These verbs consequently occur in OE. without the **i**-umlaut, and the verbs whose stem ends in a guttural

have **ht** in the preterit and past participle, according to 232. An original nasal is lost before this **ht** (45. 5; 185).

a) Thus are regularly inflected: **cwéllan** – **cwealde** – (ge)cweald, *kill*, **dwéllan** – **dwealde** – **gedweald**, *deceive*, **sellan** (*siellan*, 80. note 2) – **sealde** – **geseald**, *give*, **stéllan** – **stealde** – **gesteald**, *place*, **téllan** – **tealde** – **geteald**, *count*; **bycg(e)an** – **bohte** – **boht**, *buy*, **réc(e)an** – **róhte**, *reck*, **séc(e)an** – **sóhte** – **sóht**, *seek*, **ðénc(e)an** – **ðóhte** – **ðóht**, *think*, **ðync(e)an** – **ðúhte** – **ðúht**, *seem*; with wider variation, WS. **wyrean** and **wiercan**, Kent. R.¹ **wircan**, North. **wyrea** (Goth. *waurkjan*) – **worhte** – **worht**, *work*, and **bringan** – **bróhte** – **bróht**, *bring*, with the present strong (Goth. **briggan**), though a weak **bréng(e)an** (OS. **bréngian**) also occurs, especially in North. The past participle has also the form **brungen**.

NOTE 1. But from **téllan** there is likewise found a past participle **getéled**, and from **dwellan** a preterit **dwelede**, **dwelode** (cf. 400. note 2).

NOTE 2. Other forms of the preterit and past participle of **wyrean** are: **wyrhte**, **wyrht**; **wrohte**, **wroht**. The preterit participle **ge-warht**, OS. **giuuaraht**, is found in Corp. 567.

b) Certain verbs, more especially in the later documents, have i-umlaut in the preterit, less frequently in the past participle: **cwécc(e)an** – **cweahste**, **cwéchte**, *shake*; **décc(e)an** – **dæhste** (?), *cover*; **drécc(e)an** – **dreahte**, **dréhste**, *vex*; **lécc(e)an** – **leahte**, **léhte**, *moisten*; **récc(e)an** – **realhte**, **réhste** – **reaht**, *expound*; **strécc(e)an** – **streahte**, **stréhste** – **streaht**, *stretch*; **wécc(e)an** – **weahste**, **wéhste** – **weaht** (LWS. **wrécean**, etc.), *wake*; **wlécc(e)an** – **wláhste**, **wléhste** – **wláehlt**, **wléht**, *make tepid*; **ðécc(e)an** – **ðeahste**, **ðéhste** – **ðeaht**, *cover*; * **hæccéan** – **hæhste**, *hack*; * **scyec(e)an** – **seyhte**, *mislead*; **técc(e)an** – **téhste**

(LWS. *táhte*), *táht* (LWS. *táht*), *show*; *rácean*, *ráhte*, *reach*; *læcc(e)an* – *láhte* (LWS. *láhte*), *láht* (LWS. *láht*), *seize*.

NOTE 3. In the Ps. and North. the verbs with *e* in the present have *æ* in the preterit, according to 162, *ræhte*, *wæhte*, *ðæhte*, etc., except where it has been supplanted by the *e* of the present. Besides the regular participial forms, *dæc(e)an* has *gedæced*, and *wlæcc(e)an* has *gewlæced*, *gwælæcced*.

c) In imitation of these verbs, certain verbs in *e*, which are in other respects regular, sometimes take *ht* in the preterit, but retain the *i*-umlaut: *e.g.*, *fec(e)an* – *fechte* (*flte*), part. *gefeced*, *increase*; *ðrycc(e)an* – *ðrycte*, *ðryhte*, part. *geðrycced*; *cnycc(e)an* – *cnyete*, *cnyhte*, *tie*; *néaláec(e)an* – *néaláecte*, -*hte* (North. -*cede*, -*cde*), *approach*; *ólæcc(e)an* – *ólæcte*, *ólæhte*, *praise*, etc.

Conjugation of the Weak Verbs of Class I.

408. Paradigms.

PRESENT.—Indicative.

Sing. 1. <i>nærie</i>	<i>frémme</i>	<i>dème</i>	<i>cíege</i>
2. <i>nères(t)</i>	<i>frémes(t)</i>	<i>dém(e)st</i>	<i>cíeg(e)st</i> (Ps. <i>cést</i>)
3. <i>næreð</i>	<i>frémēð</i>	<i>dém(e)ð</i>	<i>cíeg(e)ð</i> (Ps. <i>céð</i>)
Plur. <i>nærlað</i>	<i>frémmað</i>	<i>démað</i>	<i>cíegað</i>

Optative.

Sing. <i>nærie</i>	<i>frémme</i>	<i>dème</i>	<i>cíege</i>
Plur. <i>nærلن</i>	<i>frémmen</i>	<i>démén</i>	<i>cíegen</i>

Imperative.

Sing. 2. <i>nære</i>	<i>fréme</i>	<i>dém</i>	<i>cíeg</i> (Ps. <i>cé</i>)
Plur. 1. <i>nærlian</i>	<i>frémman</i>	<i>démán</i>	<i>cíegan</i>
2. <i>næriað</i>	<i>frémmað</i>	<i>démað</i>	<i>cíegað</i>

Infinitive.

<i>nærlian</i>	<i>frémman</i>	<i>démán</i>	<i>cíegan</i>
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Participle.

<i>nærrende</i>	<i>frémmende</i>	<i>démende</i>	<i>cíegende</i>
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PRETERIT.

Indicative.

Sing. 1. n̄erede	fr̄emedē	d̄ēmde	c̄iegde (Ps. c̄ēde)
2. n̄eredes(t)	fr̄emedes(t)	d̄ēmdes(t)	etc.
3. n̄erede	fr̄emedē	d̄ēmde	
Plur. n̄eredon	fr̄emedon	d̄ēmdon	

Optative.

Sing. n̄erede	fr̄emedē	d̄ēmde	c̄iegde (Ps. c̄ēde)
n̄reden	fr̄emedēn	d̄ēmden	etc.

Participle.

Sing. n̄ered	fr̄emed	d̄ēmed	c̄iegded (Ps. c̄ēd)
Plur. n̄erede	fr̄emedē	d̄ēmde	c̄iegde (Ps. c̄ēde)

NOTE 1. For graphic variants of *n̄erlan*, etc., like *n̄ergan*, *n̄erigan*, *n̄erigean*, etc., see 175. For forms like *sécean*, *séceað*, *hnágean*, *hnágeað*, etc., along with *sécan*, *sécað*, etc., see 206. 6.

NOTE 2. The -e of the 1st sing. preterit indicative is often lost in North. before the pronoun *ic*: *sægdig*, L., *éadig*, *c̄erdig*, Rit., for *sægde ic*, *éade ic*, *c̄erde ic*, etc. (356. note 2).

NOTE 3. For the conjugation of the verbs in *rw*, see 405.

409. *n̄erian* and *fr̄emman* represent the conjugation of the original short stems, *dēman* and *c̄egan* of the original long stems. For examples of the former class, see 400; of the latter, 403.

410. Strictly speaking, the inflected endings were originally the same in both classes, as they still are in the preterit. The actual differences in the conjugation of the OE. present are as follows:

1) The *j* of the suffix *-jo-* was retained before an unlike vowel in the case of the short stems in *r*, like *n̄erian*; in the other short-stemmed verbs it caused, before its disappearance (177), gemination of the radical final consonant in West Germanic, according to 228, as

in **frēmman**. After long stems it was dropped without having produced gemination.

NOTE 1. In verbs whose stems were long the **j** remained as **g** whenever it was preceded by a vowel, as in **cīegan**.

2) The present of the original short stems exhibits variation between geminated and simple consonants, the latter standing in the 2d and 3d sing. indicative and the 2d sing. imperative.

NOTE 2. This variation depends upon the fact that the ending of these forms originally contained an **i** (cf. Goth. **nasjis**, **nasjip**, **nasei**), and that the suffixal **j** prefixed to this **i** had already disappeared before the occurrence of the West Germ. gemination. Especially to be noted in this connection are the statements in 190 and 216, relating to **eg** as the geminate of **g**, and **bb** as that of **f**. **lēcg(e)an** - **lēgeð**, **swēbban** - **swēfeð**, etc. Subsequently, and indeed already in North., this distinction is overlooked, the geminated forms being introduced into the 2d and 3d sing.: **sēlest** and **sēllest**, **sēleð** and **sēlleð**, etc.

NOTE 3. The inflection of **cēgan** in Ps. depends upon a similar variation: **cēgu**, **cést**, **cēð**, imperative **cē** (for ***kauju**, ***kawis**, ***kawið**, ***kawi**; preterit **cēde** for ***kawida**). In the other dialects the **g** is carried through all the forms.

3) The imperative sing. of the short stems ends in **-e** (Goth. **-ei**), as in **nēre**, **frēme**, while it regularly suffers apocope in the long stems, according to 133: **dēm**, **hīer**, etc.

NOTE 4. In LWS., forms like **dēme**, **hȳre**, are found; in North., on the other hand, the short stems suffer apocope: **nēr**, **sēl** (cf. 372, note).

4) In like manner the endings of the 2d and 3d sing. indicative are regularly shortened to **-st**, **ð** in the EWS. texts: **dēmst**, **dēmð**, while the short stems but seldom admit of syncope (and then usually after **l** and **g**: **sēlð**, **lēgð**, etc.). Subsequently there is a uniform prevalence of **-est**, **-eð**.

2. SECOND WEAK CONJUGATION.

411. Present stem. The common basis of all the forms of this class is primarily a stem in original -o-. In the present tense, with the exception of the 2d and 3d sing. indicative and 2d sing. imperative, this likewise takes the suffix -jo- of the first weak conjugation, the two elements combining, as a rule, to form -ia- (-iga-, -igea-), this combination being pronounced as a dissyllable, and incapable of causing i-umlaut: *sealfian, anoint, lócian, look, wunian, dwell, tacnian, betoken, scéawian, behold*, etc.

NOTE. The number of these verbs is very large, since verbs belonging to this class can be formed from very many nouns, but particularly from adjectives. Especially to be noted are the derivatives in -nian, Goth. -inón, like *fæstnian, fasten*; in -cian, OHG. -ihhón, like *bede-cian, beg, styfeclian, extirpate, ieldcian, delay, gearcian (?)*, *prepare*; and in -sian, usually Goth. -isón, like *rícsian, ríxian, rule, bledsian, bless, miltsian, pity, hálsian, great, eorsian, be angry, blissian, rejoice, hréowsian, rue*.

412. Preterit. The preterit of this class ends in -ode (-ade, -ude, -ede): *wunode, tacnode*, etc.

NOTE 1. -ode is the regular WS. form, -ade being less frequent in this dialect, but the prevailing suffix in Ps. and North., in which dialects -ode is very rare; -ude and -ede, though they are found in all the dialects, are comparatively scarce. The forms with e belong more frequently to the plur. than to the sing., and we may perhaps assume the normal forms to be sing. *sealfode*, plur. *sealfedon* (129).

NOTE 2. Some verbs in w occasionally syncopate the middle vowel: *trúwian, trúwde; ðéowian, ðéowde*, etc.

413. Past participle. Its ending is -od, -ad, -ud, these forms standing to each other in the relation indicated by 412. note 1: *gewunod, getacnod*. To these must be added the -ed- of inflected forms, like *getacnedum*, etc.

414. Paradigms of the second class:

PRESENT.

<i>Indicative.</i>	<i>Optative.</i>	<i>Imperative.</i>
Sing. 1. sealſie		Sing. 2. sealſtu
2. sealſfast	{ sealſie	Plur. 1. sealſian
3. sealſiað		2. sealſiað
Plur. sealſiað	sealſien	

Infinitive: sealſian *Participle:* sealſiende

PRESERIT.

<i>Indicative.</i>	<i>Optative.</i>
Sing. 1. sealſode	
2. sealſodest	{ sealſoden
3. sealſode	
Plur. sealſedon, -odon	sealſoden

Participle: sealſad

NOTE 1. Graphic substitutions of *ige* for *ie*, and of *iga*, *igea* for *ia*, are frequent: sealſige, sealſigen, sealſigean, etc.; *ge* for *ie* is found in a few manuscripts: gnorngende, grieving, huntgende, hunting, etc. Contractions take place in the verbs *bógan*, *boast*, *scóian*, *shoe*, and *twéogean*, *doubt*.

NOTE 2. North. has in many instances retained forms which approximate more closely to the original ending of the present stem *-ðjo*: e.g., infinitives in *-ogia*, *-age*, *-ege*; present indicative plur. *-ageð*, *-egeð*, *-egað*, etc. Still other North. peculiarities are: indicative 1st sing. in *-a*, *-iga* (*þrówa*, *þrówiga*), (2d) 3d sing. in *-es*, *-eð*, *-i(g)as*, *-iges*, *-aglð*, *-aið*, plur. in *-að*, *-as*, *-es*, etc.; imperative 2d sing. in *-ig*, like *árlig*, *clénsig*, along with *-a*; present participle in *-ende*, *-ande*, etc.

3. THIRD WEAK CONJUGATION.

415. This conjugation comprises the few remains of the Goth. *ai*-class which are still preserved in OE. These are the verbs *habban*, *have*; *libban*, *lifgan*, *live*; *secg(e)an*, *say*; *hycg(e)an*, *think*; and originally *þréag(e)an* (Ps. *þréagan*, North. *þreiga*), *rebuke*; *sméag(e)an* (Ps. *smégan*), *think*; *fréog(e)an* (Ps. *frígan*), *liberate*. Their inflection is as follows:

PRESENT.

Indicative.

Singular:

1. hæbbe	{ libbe lifge	sæge	hyge	fréage	fréoge
2. hafas(t)	llofas(t)	sagas(t)	hogas(t)	fréas(t)	fréos(t)
3. hafað	llofað	sagað	hogað	fréað	fréoð

Plural:

{ habbað (hæbbæð	{ libbað (lifg(e)að	sæg(e)að	hyg(e)að	fréag(e)að	fréog(e)að
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Singular:

1. hæbbe	{ libbe lifge	sæge	hyge	fréage	fréoge
etc., like frémme, 408.					

Singular:

2. hafa	llofa	saga	hoga	fréa	fréo
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Plural:

2. { habbað (hæbbæð	{ libbað (lifg(e)að	sæg(e)að	hyg(e)að	fréag(e)að	fréog(e)að
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Infinitive.

habban	{ libban lifgan	sæg(e)an	hyg(e)an	fréag(e)an	fréog(e)an
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Participles.

habbende	{ libbende lifgende	sægrende	hygrende	fréagende	fréogende
----------	------------------------	----------	----------	-----------	-----------

Singular:

1. hæfde	lifde	sægde	hogde	fréade	fréode
etc., like démde, 408.					

PAST PARTICIPLE.

gehæfd gelfd gesægd gehogod gefréad gefréod

416. The peculiarity of this class consists in the intermixture of forms belonging to the 1st and 2d weak conjugations. To the latter belong originally only the

2d and 3d sing. present indicative and the 2d sing. imperative, all the other present forms being borrowed from the first conjugation. The preterit was formed by attaching **-de** directly to the radical syllable, and the past participle by adding **-d**. In the course of time, however, many modifications of the old system have taken place.

NOTE 1. Later forms of **habban** are: 1st sing. indicative **hafu**, **-o**, **-a** (North. always so), 2d **hæfst**, 3d **hæfð**, the latter being the most common in WS. prose; LWS. sing. optative **habbe**. By prefixing the negative adverb **ne**, **habban** becomes **nabban**: 1st sing. present indicative **næbbe**, **nafu**, etc., 2d **nafast**, **næfst**, 3d **nasað**, **næfð**; plur. **nabbað**; preterit **næfde**; participle **genæfd**; cf. also **næfga**, *mendant*, **næfste**, *poverty*. The past participle **hæfed** is peculiar to Bede. The preterit **hædde** occurs in a charter of A.D. 991.

NOTE 2. The collateral forms of **lifban** with **fg** (**fī**), like **lifgan**, **lifian**, are chiefly confined to the Anglian and Kentish dialects; **lifo** is found in North. as the 1st sing. present indicative. In LWS. **lifban** forms a preterit **lifede** (**lyfede**, **lyfode**, **leofode**).

NOTE 3. Later forms of **sēgean** are: present indicative 2d sing. **sægst**, **sæg(e)st**, 3d **sægð**, **sæg(e)ð**, Ps. **segeð**; imperative **sēge**; preterit **séde**, participle **gesæd**, according to **214. 3.** **hyeg(e)an** has the preterit **hogode**, plur. **hogedon**, according to Class II., and even **hygde** (3d sing. present **hygð**).

NOTE 4. The original inflection of **tréagan**, **sméagan**, **fréogan**, is more clearly perceptible in Ps. than in WS.: infinitive **trégan**, present indicative **trégu**, **tréas**, **tréað**, plur. **trégað**, optative **trége**, imperative **tréa**, **trégað**, participle **trégende**, preterit **tréade**, participle **getréad**, for ***träajan**, ***träuju**, ***träuals**, preterit **träuda**, etc.; likewise infinitive ***frígan**, present indicative **frígu**, **fréas**, **fréað** (**frías**, **fríð**), plur. ***frígað**, imperative **fréa**, **frígað**, participle **frígende**, preterit **fréade**, **fríode**, participle **fréad**, **fríod**. Elsewhere there are found shorter forms like **tréan**, **sméan**, besides **tréagean**, **sméagean**, etc.

NOTE 5. The verbs belonging to this class were originally much more numerous. For the most part, they have either gone over to the II. class, like **bifian**, **bifian**, *tremble*, **hlionian**, *recline*, **scqmlan**,

shame, sorgian, care, or have a more or less perfect double formation, and are thus inflected in both classes: *fylgean - fylgde* and *folgian - folgode*, *tellan - tealde* and *talian - talode*. From *wacian, wake*, there is a present participle *wæccende*; and from *hatian, hate*, the participle *hættende*. In the case of others, only a preterit without middle vowel points to the old inflection: *plagian - plægde* and *plagade, play*; *swíglan* (*swigian?* EWS. also *swugian, sugian*) - *swígde* (North.) and *swígode, be silent*; *ádrúglan, ádrúgde*, and *ádrúgode, dry*, etc.

IV. Minor Groups.

1) PRETERITIVE PRESENTS.

417. The Germanic preteritive presents have sprung from strong verbs, whose preterits have assumed a present meaning (like Lat. **memini, novi, coepi**, Gr. *oīda*), while the original presents have disappeared. Their forms consist of:

- 1) a strong preterit with present signification (perfect present);
- 2) a newly formed dental preterit (352. 2) with preterit signification.

418. The inflection of the former is in general that of the strong preterits, retaining, however, various older forms, such as the 2d sing. indicative in *-t*, and the *i*-umlaut in the optative. The dental preterit conforms entirely to the inflection of the weak preterits.

419. In the formation of their strong preterits the preteritive presents range themselves under the ablaut classes of the strong verbs. Accordingly, they naturally fall into the following order:

420. First ablaut class. 1) Present **wát**, *I know*: 2d sing. **wást**, plur. **witon**, EWS. **wiotun**, **wietun**; optative **wite**; imperative **wite**; preterit **wisse**, **wiste**; infinitive **witan**, EWS. **wiotan**, **wietan**; participle **witen**; to these must be added the ancient past participle **gewiss**, now used as an adjective with the meaning "certain." By fusion with the negative adverb **ne**, these forms become **nát**, **nást**, **nytun**, **nyte**, **nysse**, **nyste**.

NOTE. The Ps. has plur. **weotun**, **neotun**; infinitive **weotan**; participle **weotende**. The North., plur. **wuton**, **nuton**; infinitive **wuta**; optative **wite**; imperative **wite**, plur. **wutas**; preterit only **wiste**, **nyste**; past participle **gewitten**.

2) **ág** (**áh**, 214. 1), *I have*: 2d sing. **áht**, **áhst**, plur. **ágon**; optative **áge**; imperative **áge**; preterit **áhte**; past participle **áegen** and **ágen**, adjective *own* (cf. 378); with the negative, **náh**, **náhte**, etc.

421. Second ablaut class. 3) **déag** (**déah**, 214. 1, North. **dég**, 163), *I avail*: 2d sing. **doht** (?) not found, plur. **dugon**; optative **duge**, **dyge**; preterit **dohte**; infinitive **dugan**; present participle **dugende**, EWS. **dugunde**.

422. Third ablaut class. 4) **qn(n)**, **an(n)**, LWS. **ge-un(n)**, *I grant*: 2d sing. **qnst** (?) not found, plur. **unnon**; optative **unne**; imperative **unne** (North. **gionn**, Rit.); preterit **úðe**; infinitive **unnan**; present participle **unnande**; past participle **(ge)unnen**.

5) **cqn(n)**, **can(n)**, *I know, can*: 2d sing. **cqnst**, plur. **cunnon**; optative **cunne**; preterit **cúðe**; infinitive **cunnan**; past participle **cunnen**, besides the ancient past participle **cúð**, *known*, used as an adjective.

6) **ðearf**, *I need*: 2d sing. **ðearft**, plur. **ðurfon**; optative **ðyrfe**, usually **ðurfe**; preterit **ðorfte** (R.¹ **ðurfte**); infinitive **ðurfan**.

7) **dear**, *I dare*: 2d sing. **dearst**, plur. **durron**; optative **dyrre**, usually **durre**; preterit **dorste** (R.¹ **dy(r)ste**); infinitive **durran** (?).

423. Fourth ablaut class. 8) **sceal**, *I shall*: 2d sing. **scealt**, plur. **sculon**, **seeolon**; optative **scyle** (**scile**), **seule**, **sceole**; preterit **sc(e)olde**; infinitive **sculan**, **sceolan**.

NOTE 1. North. plur. **scilon**, **scelolon**, optative **scile**; preterit Rush.¹ **scalde**, **sculde**, optative **scylde**. The forms **scille**, **sciele**, occur in Cura Past.

9) **m̄n**, **man** (likewise **gem̄n**), LWS. **gemune**, *I intend*: 2d sing. **m̄nst**, LWS. **gemunst**, LWS. 3d sing. **gemanð** (?), plur. **munon**, LWS. **gemunað**; optative **myne**, usually **mune**; imperative **gemyne**, **gemun(e)**; preterit **munde**; infinitive **munan**; present participle **munende**; past participle **(ge)munen**.

NOTE 2. North. has as preterit **gemýste** (for ***gemynste**, 185. 1).

424. Fifth ablaut class. 10) **mæg**, *I can*: 2d sing. **meah**, **miht**, plur. **magon**; optative **mæge**, LWS. **mage**, **muge**, plur. **mahan**, **mugon**; preterit **meah**, **mihte**; infinitive **magan** or **mugan** (?) not found.

NOTE. The forms of the Ps. are **meg**, **mæht**, **mægon**, **mege**, **mæhte**.

11) **be-, ge-neah**, *it suffices* (used only in the 3d person): plur. **-nugon**, optative **-nuge**, preterit **benohte**; infinitive **-nugan** (?) not found.

425. Sixth ablaut class. 12) **mót**, *I may*: 2d sing. **móst**, plur. **móton**, optative **móte**, preterit **móste**; infinitive **mótan** (?) not found.

2) VERBS IN -MI.

426. The 1st sing. present indicative of the Indo-European verb ended either in **-ō** or in **-mi** (cf. the Gr. verbs in **-ω** and **-μι**, like *φέρω* and *τίθημι*, etc.). To the verbs in **-ō** belong all the regular Germanic verbs; of the verbs in **-mi** only scanty remains have been preserved; they are distinguished by the fact that the 1st sing. indicative ends in **-m**. Here belong the following OE. verbs:

a) *The Substantive Verb.*

427. The substantive verb is composed of forms from the three roots, **es** (indicative and present optative), **bheu** (indicative and present optative with future signification, infinitive and imperative), and **wes** (infinitive, present participle, and preterit). The inflection is as follows:

1) Root **es**:PRESENT. — *Indicative.*

	WS.	Ps.	NORTH.
Sing. 1.	eom	eam	am
2.	eart	earð	arð
3.	is	is	is
Plur.	{ sind, -t siondun si(e)ndun syndun	{ earun sind(un) siondun	{ aron sint, (-d) sindon

Optative.

Sing. 1.	síe	{ síe	{ síe, sē
2.	sío, seo	{ (1st pers. also síem, sfon)	
3.	sí, sig, sy		
Plur.	{ síen sín sýn	{ síen	{ síe, sē

NOTE 1. Prothesis of the negative adverb **ne** gives **neom** (Ps. **neam**, North. **nam**), **nis**, **nearun**, **-on**.

NOTE 2. R.¹ has also an indicative plur. **sendun**, and Lind. an infinitive **sie**; in the Ps. **sind** is the regular form of the plur., while **earun** is the rarest; the form **send** is occasionally found in WS. The 2d sing. **earð** occurs not only in Ps., but also in Boeth. 128.

2) Root **bheu**:

		PRESENT.	
Indicative.		Optative.	
	WS.-Ps.	NORTH.	WS.
Sing.	1. béom, béo	bíom, béom	{ béo
	2. bis, bist	bist	
	3. bið	bið	
Plur.	béoð	{ bíðon bíðað	{ béon
			bía

Infinitive: **béon** (North. **bían**) *Present Participle*: **béonde**
Imperative: Sing. **béo**, plur. **béoð**

NOTE 3. Later forms of **bist**, **bið**, are **byst**, **byð**. Only rarely does the North. have **bioðon** for **biðon**. R.¹ has an indicative plur. **beoþan** (**biðon**) along with **béoþ**, **bíoþ**. The Ps. has no example of the optative.

3) Root **wes**:

PRESENT.

Infinitive: **wesan** (North. **wosa, wossa**). *Participle*: **wesende**.
Imperative: Sing. **wes**, plur. **wesað** (North. **wæs, wosas**).

PRETERIT.

Indicative: 1st sing. **wæs**, 2d sing. **wáre**;
Optative: **wáre**, etc., the whole regularly inflected as a strong verb (391).

NOTE 4. The past participle is generally wanting, but cf. 391, note 1. From fusion with **ne** results the preterit sing. **næs**, 2d **náre**, plur. **náron**, optative **náre**.

b) *The Verb "will."*

428. The present tense of the verb "will" was originally confined in Germanic to an optative used indicatively; to these have been added in OE. a new

optative and an imperative (the latter occurring only as a negative). The preterit is of the weak conjugation. The inflection is as follows:

PRESENT. — Indicative.

WS.	Ps.	NORTH.
Sing. 1. wille, wile	—	willo, -e
2. wilt	—	wilt
3. wile, wille	wile	wil
Plur. willað	willað	wallas, -að

Optative.

Sing. 1. wille	—	wælla, -æ, -e
2. wile	—	wellæ, -e
Plur. willen	—	{ wællæ, -e wellæ, -e

PRETERIT. — Indicative.

Sing. wolde (walde)	walde	walde
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Optative.

Sing. wolde, walde	walde	walde
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Inflected like *nere*, 408.

NOTE 1. In North. the 1st sing. indicative is combined with the following pronoun to form **willie**: R.¹ distinguishes 1st and 3d sing. as **wille** and **wile**; plur. **willað** and optative **wille**, as in WS. The infinitive **willan** is rare; Ps. has a present participle **wellende**, and R.¹ an imperative **ne wellað**.

NOTE 2. Fusion with the negative adverb is the rule, occasioning certain irregularities in the vowels of the various forms: WS. 1st and 3d sing. indicative **nel(1)e**, **nyl(1)e**, 2d **neilt**, **nylt**, plur. **nellað**, **nyllað**, optative **nelle**, **nyl(1)e**, imperative **nele** (?), plur. **nellað**, **nyllað**, pret-erit **nolde** (R.¹ 1st and 3d sing. **nyle**, plur. **nyllað**, imperative **nellað**, preterit **nalde**); Ps. sing. imperative **nyl**, plur. **nyllað**, preterit **nalde**; North. 1st sing. indicative **nullle**, plur. **nallas**, sing. imperative **nelle**, plur. **nallað**, **mællað**, **nellað** (-eð, -as, -æs), preterit **nalde**.

c) *The Verb "do."*

429. The verb **dón**, *do*, is conjugated as follows:

PRESENT.					
Indicative.			Optative.		
WS.	Ps.	NORTH.	WS.	Ps.	NORTH.
Sg. 1. dó	dóm	dóm, dó, dóa	dó	dó	dó
2. dést	dóes(t)	dóas	(dé)	dóé	dóá
3. dóð	dóð	dóð; dóæð, -as, -es	dón	dóen	dóé
Plur. dóð	dóð	dóað, -as, -eð, -es			
Infinitive.			Participles.		
dón	dón	dón, dó, dóa	dónde	—	doénde
Ger. dóune	—	dóanne, -enne			
Imperative.			Past Participles.		
Sg. 2. dó	dó, dóa	dó, dóa, dóé	gedón	—	
Pl. 1. dón	dón	—	gedén	—	
2. dóð	dóð	dóað, -as, -æð, -eð			
PRETERIT.					
Indicative.			Optative.		
WS.	Ps.	NORTH.	WS.	Ps.	NORTH.
Sg. 1, 3. dyde	dyde	dyde	{ dyde	dyde	dyde
2. dydes(t)	dydes(t)	dydes(t)	{ (dáde)	dyde	dyde
Plur. { dydon	dydun	{ dydon	{ dyden	dyden	dyde
{ (dádon)		{ dédon	{ déden		

NOTE 1. It is doubtful whether the óe of Ps. and North. should be written ée or áe, since the MSS. do not distinguish between them. The participles *gedén*, *fordén*, are found in WS. only in the poetical texts, to which they have probably been transferred directly from North. originals. The preterit plur. *dádon*, optative *dáde*, are probably not found in WS. prose.

NOTE 2. R.¹ has 1st sing. present indicative *dó(m)*, 2d *dést*, 3d *dóð*, plur. *dóð*, *dóað*, *doéð*; sing. optative *dó(a)*, plur. *dóan*; sing. imperative *dó*, plur. *dóð*, *dóað*, *doéð*; infinitive *dóan*, gerund *dóanne*; present participle *dónde*, *doénde*; preterit *dyde*, plur. *dydon*; past participle *gedóan*, *gedoén*.

d) *The Verb "go."*

430. The verb **gán**, *go* (beside **gɔngan**, 396. note 1):

PRESENT.

Indicative.

WS.-Ps.	NORTH.	WS.	Ps.	NORTH.
Sing. 1. gá	gáe			
2. gáes(t)	gáes(t)	{ gá	gáe	gáe
3. gáð	gáð, gáð, -s			
Plur. gáð	gáð, gáð, -s	gán	—	{ gáe gáæ

Imperative.

Sing. 2. gá	gá, gáe, gáæ	gánde	gánde	—
Plur. 2. gáð	gáð, gáð, -s			

Infinitive.

gán	gán, gáe	gegán	—	geéad
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PRETERIT.

Indicative.

Sg. 1, 3. éode	éade, éode	éode	éode	{ éade éode
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Inflected like **nérede**, etc., 408.

NOTE 1. In place of our **áe** the MSS. often have **ae**, which may also be interpreted as **áe**; **áe** has only been admitted above, where the MSS. themselves contain the ligature **æ** in addition to **ae**.

NOTE 2. The inflection in R.¹ is the same as in WS., with the exception of the plur. optative **gáen**, along with **gán**, and the plur. imperative **gáð**, along with **gáð**. In one instance the Ps. has **gán** as the 1st sing. present indicative.

APPENDIX.

a) The principal Northumbrian texts, besides a few Runic inscriptions (Stephens, *The Old Northern Runic Monuments*, I. 405 ff.), are an interlinear translation of the Gospels, the so-called Durham Book, or Lindisfarne Gospels (best edition by Kemble and Skeat: *The Gospel according to Saint Matthew, etc., in Anglo-Saxon and Northumbrian versions*, Cambridge, 1858-78); and a similar translation of the Durham Ritual, edited by Stevenson for the Surtees Society, under the title of *Rituale Ecclesiae Dunelmensis*, London, 1840.

b) Mercian is supposed to be represented by the modified transcript of the Northumbrian gloss on the whole of Matthew and Chap. I., II. 1-15 of Mark (R.¹), in the so-called Rushworth Ms.; as respects the remainder of Mark and the other two Gospels, the gloss (R.²) is but little more than a copy of the Northumbrian. The whole is printed in Kemble and Skeat's edition.

c) The oldest relic of Kentish is the Epinal Glossary of the 7th or 8th century (recently edited by Sweet, with photo-lithographs of the original Ms., London, 1883), together with a few similar fragments, and a series of charters (Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*, London, 1839-48). Of more recent date are a translation of the 50th Psalm, a hymn, and certain glosses in Ms. Vesp. D. 6 of the British Museum (Kentish Glosses); the latter were edited by Zupitza in

Haupt's *Zeitschrift*, XXI. 1 ff., XXIII. 223 ff. Sweet regards the very important interlinear translation of the Psalter (edited by Stevenson, *Anglo-Saxon and Early English Psalter*, London, 1843-47, for the Surtees Society) as Kentish, but it certainly is not written in this dialect, its affinities being rather with Northumbrian.

d) Among the ancient specimens of West Saxon, certain works by Alfred the Great, preserved in contemporaneous manuscripts, take precedence of all others; these are the translation of Gregory the Great's *Cura Pastoralis* (edited by Sweet, *King Alfred's West Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*, London, 1871), and of the Chronicle of Orosius (now editing by Sweet). Next in importance is the oldest text (Parker Ms.) of the Saxon Chronicle, last edited by Earle: *Two of the Saxon Chronicles*, Oxford, 1865. Among the LWS. documents may be mentioned the numerous and still partly unpublished works of Ælfric (*circa* 1000), whose OE. Grammar of the Latin Language has been lately re-edited by Zupitza, Berlin, 1880. The manuscripts of the poetical texts belong, for the most part, to the 10th and 11th centuries. Instead of representing with accuracy any one of the preceding dialects, they exhibit a medley of earlier and later forms, including even such as belong to other Germanic tongues.

Sweet's Oldest English Texts, soon to appear, will be of great value to students of the earliest forms of English.

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